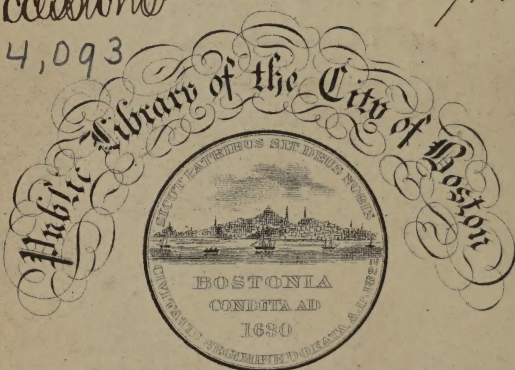


INDICES.

4271
.68

Accessions PRESENTED TO THE *427.68*
314,093



By *Wendell Phillips*
Received *July 13, 1882* No.

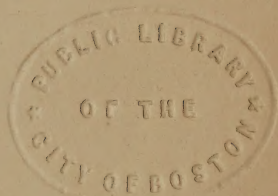
To
Wendell Phillips Esq
with the compliments of
1871 The author

INDICES
OF
PUBLIC OPINION.

1860-1870.

BY
SINCLAIR TOUSEY.

NEW YORK:
PRINTED FOR PRIVATE CIRCULATION.
1871.



C

Dup. 4323.74

To have it

314.093

Wendell Phillips

July 13, 1882



PREFACE.

THE theory of our Government is, that each man is a part of it, or rather, that each citizen is supposed or expected to take part in its affairs. This not only confers privileges but imposes duties. I have borrowed time from the pressure of business, occasionally, through the Newspapers and Magazines of the day, by participation in public meetings and otherwise, to contribute my mite towards the promotion of what appeared to me to be such a state of public opinion as would conduce to the greatest good of all our people. Perhaps I may be charged with egotism in reproducing these views; but, regarding them as, to a certain extent, indices of public feeling, and of ideas prevalent during the Ordeal of the Union, I repeat them in this more permanent form. I submit them as the views of One of the People on the topics discussed; and, if they have been, or may yet be, of any use, I shall be satisfied.

SINCLAIR TOUSEY.

NEW YORK, 1871.

ERRATA.

Page 95, bottom line, for "*Our Alexander*," read "*Our Andrew*."

CONTENTS.

	PAGE.
State Rights.....	9
On Strikes.....	19
Emancipation.....	26
Confiscation of Slaves.....	32
Freeing and Arming the Slaves.....	35
Prisoners of War, Privateers, &c.....	39
Stamp Tax on Newspapers, &c.....	40
Licensed Express System.....	44
Habeas Corpus, Martial Law, &c.....	50
Barbarities of the War.....	51
A Protest.....	53
Gallows' Candidates.....	54
Northern Traitors.....	56
Railroads and Blacks.....	58
Democratic Howlings.....	59
The N. Y. Times and Gov. Andrew.....	60
Gen. Butler's Paper Tax.....	61
Campaign Document, Lincoln's Second Canvass.....	67
Union League Association.....	72
Meeting in the Ninth Ward on the Murder of Mr. Lincoln.....	73
Death and Burial of Lincoln.....	75
Union League Club on Southern Suffrage.....	77
Secretary Stanton and Montgomery Blair.....	77
Colored Men and the Fenians.....	79
Seventh Assembly District Association Endorses Congress.....	81
A Constituent to a Representative.....	82
A Representative to a Constituent.....	90
A Constituent to a Representative.....	91
A Representative to a Constituent.....	94
The Thirty-nine Articles of Faith of the New Party, &c.....	95
What Matters It?.....	101
The Constitutional Convention.....	102
Negro Voting in the District.....	104
Excise Laws.....	106
Senatorial.....	111
Empty Sleeves.....	114
Men of the Empire State (campaign document).....	115
Who will you Vote for ? &c. (campaign document).....	117
Savings Banks and Poor People (campaign document).....	118
What has been Settled by the Election of Grant?.....	122
The Market Question.....	123
The Chinese Labor Question.....	125

INDICES OF PUBLIC OPINION.



STATE RIGHTS.

[From the Continental Monthly, May, 1862.]

THE theory of State Rights, as expounded by its advocates in its application to the several States of the American Union, is subversive of all government, and calculated to destroy our political organization. Its tendency is to weaken the central government by minute divisions of the power necessary for its maintenance. Without power to make its authority respected, no government can live. The doctrine of State Sovereignty detracts from this authority by lessening the power which upholds it. Thirty-four States, each claiming exclusive authority to act independently on any given subject, have only one thirty-fourth part of the strength that they would have, were they all acting under and controlled by one central head. That central head in our Union is the Federal Government, formed by and growing out of the Constitution, and it must exist for the protection of each of its thirty-four members, as well as for itself, the connecting power. Its acts must not be disputed by any one of the States or by any number of them acting in concert. If one or more States may defy the central authority, or attempt to withdraw from its government, any other State may do likewise, to the ruin of the political fabric erected at so much cost, and in its place would spring up scores of weak and unprotected communities. But, says the State rights advocate, this central power will have too much authority, too much control over the States; will become despotic, and in time destroy the liberties of the people. How? By whom will those liberties be destroyed? This central power, styled the Federal Government, is formed by the people, is of the people, is for the people, and has only such power as the people gave it; and thus being of and from the people, it (or they) can not destroy its (or their) own liberties. Were our government hereditary instead of elective; were our institutions monarchical instead of republican; had we privileged classes perpetuated by primogeniture, there might be some danger of placing too much power in the hands of the Federal Government; but

formed as our institutions are, framed as our Constitution is, educated as our people are, there can be no fear of having the central power or general Federal Government too strong, or its authority supreme. Without strength there can be no authority; without authority there can be no respect; without respect there can be no government; without government there can be no civilization. The doctrine of State rights, as applied to the communities forming the American Union, elevates the State over the nation, demands that the Federal shall yield to the State laws, and completely ignores the supremacy of the united authority of the whole people. This theory, carried out logically, would make counties equal to States; towns equal to counties; wards and districts equal to towns; neighborhoods equal to districts and wards; and to come down to the last application of the principle, every one man in a neighborhood equal to the whole, in fact, superior, if the State rights doctrine be true, that the State is supreme within its own limits. The application of this principle ends society by destroying the order based on authority, and placing the State above the Nation, and the individual above the State. Civilized societies are but the aggregation of persons coming or remaining together for mutual interest and protection. This mutual interest requires certain rules for the protection of the weak from the encroachments of the strong in society, as well as from outside enemies. These rules take the form of laws. These laws must be administered; their administration requires power. This power is placed in the hands of certain members of this society, community, or State, as the case may be, for the good of the whole State, and each individual claiming protection from the State, or whose interest is promoted by being a member thereof, is under moral as well as legal obligations to submit to this authority thus exercised by the chosen executors of the public will. Rights that might pertain to one man on an island by himself, do not attach to man in civilized communities. There he must not go beyond the landmarks established by law, and he agrees to this arrangement by remaining in the State or community. The same principle is equally applicable to the States of the American Union. Before the adoption of the Federal Constitution they were separate, distinct, and so far as any central head or supreme governing power was concerned, independent States, or, in fact, sovereignties. True, they had tried to get along under a sort of confederation agreement, a kind of temporary alliance for offensive and defensive ends, but which failed from its own inherent weakness, from the lack of that cohesiveness which nothing but centralization can give. Prior to the adoption of the Federal Constitution, these different States were like so many different individuals outside of any regular society; were merely so many isolated aggregations of non-nationalized individuals. Experience showed

them their unfortunate condition ; as separate States they had no strength to repel a common enemy, no credit, no money, no authority, commanded no respect. So it is with an individual outside of society. These States were then in the enjoyment—no, not in the enjoyment, but merely in possession—of State rights to the fullest extent. They had the right to be poor ; the right to be weak ; the right to get in debt ; the right to issue bills of credit, (was any one found who thought it right to take them?) but these rights were not all that the people of these States desired ; and after trying the independent and the confederate State policy until experience had shown the utter fallacy of both, they met in convention and passed the present Constitution, and formed themselves into ONE NATION. This Constitution, compact, copartnership, confederation, combination, or whatever it may be called, was and is the written foundation (voluntarily made) on which the NATION is built and maintained.

The charter, instrument, or Constitution, defines, by common consent and mutual agreement of the parties voluntarily forming it, the powers, rights, and duties of the National Government growing out of and based on this Constitution. Among the powers thus delegated to the National or Federal Government, and to be used by the legislative authority thereof, are the following :

“ARTICLE I.—SECTION 8.

“The Congress shall have power—

“1. To lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States ; but all duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States.

“2. To borrow money on the credit of the United States.

“3. To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes.

“4. To establish a uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies, throughout the United States.

“5. To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures.

“6. To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States.

“7. To establish post-offices and post-roads.

“8. To promote the progress of science and useful arts, by securing, for limited times, to authors and inventors the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries.

“9. To constitute tribunals inferior to the Supreme Court.

“10. To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offenses against the law of nations.

"11. To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water.

"12. To raise and support armies; but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years.

"13. To provide and maintain a navy.

"14. To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces.

"15. To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions.

"16. To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia, according to the discipline prescribed by Congress.

"18. To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof."

The first two words in this section—"the Congress"—completely annul the separate integrity of States. The Congress of what, and for what? The Congress of the UNITED STATES, acting for the UNITED STATES, as a UNIT, a WHOLE, a UNION. The only allusion in this section to anything like a right existing in any State after the adoption of the Constitution, is the right to officer the militia, and these officers are to 'train' the militia, *under the direction of Congress*, and not under State laws—a clause which of itself strikes a decisive blow at the theory of independent State rights. In no one of these specifications is there a single allusion to any "State." Every power enumerated is given to the "*United States*," to the "Union" formed by virtue of the Constitution. Never was there a more perfect absorption of atoms into one mass, than in these specifications; but to make the principle still stronger, and as if to remove any doubt as to "State rights," the first clause of the Ninth Section of the same Article prohibits any State from importing certain persons after a given date, which, when it arrived (in 1808), Congress passed a national law stopping the slave-trade—a trade that some of the States would have been glad to encourage, or, at least, allow, if they had had authority to do so. This right was taken from them by the Constitution, in the year 1808; up to that time they had that right; but after that date the right no longer existed, and Congress passed the law referred to, in accordance with the power given them by this clause of the Constitution.

But this First Article of Section Nine is not all in that section that smother's State rights; for Article Five declares that vessels bound to or

from one State need not enter, clear, or pay duties in another. Why this specification, if the States were to be supreme in their own limits? (and this doctrine of State rights is, in its essence, supremacy.) Independent States exact clearances and entrances, and demand duties from foreign vessels, but never from their own. State rights are ignored in this Article. But to prevent any possibility of any State ever exercising the right of sovereignty now claimed by the advocates of this most pernicious doctrine, from which has grown the present gigantic rebellion, Section Ten, of the same Article, goes on to declare that—

“1. No State shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation; grant letters of marque and reprisal; coin money; emit bills of credit; make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts; pass any bill of attainder, *ex post facto* law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts; or grant any title of nobility.

“2. No State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any imposts or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws; and the net produce of all duties and imposts laid by any State on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the Treasury of the United States; and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of the Congress. No state shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty on tonnage, keep troops or ships of war in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another State or with a foreign power, or engage in war.”

Language cannot be stronger; intentions were never more clearly expressed; thoughts were never more explicitly set forth in words. Nothing is left for doubt; all is concise, positive, and binding. Nothing is left to be guessed at; nothing left that could be construed to mean that States “may” or “may not.” “SHALL” and “SHALL NOT,” are the words used to define what the States are to do or not to do. The very slight “right” given to the States to lay duties for executing their inspection laws, carries with it a proviso, or command, that the proceeds of such duties must be paid into the National Treasury, and the very laws that the States might pass for this purpose must be approved by “THE CONGRESS.” What Congress? The Congress of the UNITED STATES—of the UNION. Every vestige of State sovereignty, of “State rights,” is utterly annihilated in these clauses.

Independent sovereign States may, and do make treaties, alliances, grant letters of marque, or coin money; in fact, no “State” or sovereignty can exist without these powers; and the fact that these powers are all taken from and denied to the States of the American Union, is conclusive proof that the framers of the Constitution did not intend to allow the

States the sovereignty now claimed for them, and which the rebellious States are endeavoring to maintain. This heresy must be exorcised now and forever.

Is there anything more in the Constitution (and bear in mind that no right is claimed for any State except in accordance with this instrument, which is still in full force except in those rebellious States where this disorganizing doctrine of "State rights" has uncontrolled sway) making the Union supreme and the States subordinate? What says the following section?

"Full faith and credit shall be given in each State to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other State. And the Congress may, by General laws, prescribe the manner in which such acts, records, and proceedings shall be proved, and the effect thereof."

A State, therefore, *may* so legislate, that is, it *may* have acts and records, but each other State *SHALL* give to the records and proceedings of all the rest "full faith and credit." Does not this enactment thoroughly negative all theories of the exclusive supremacy of State rights? Independent sovereign States do not, in the absence of treaties, give any faith or credit to the records or proceedings of other independent States. Our States are not only compelled to do this, by this section, but must do so in accordance with the manner prescribed by "the Congress" of the UNITED STATES, of the UNION, and of the NATION. No other Congress is mentioned.

"SECTION 2.

"The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States."

By this clause a native or naturalized citizen of Maine can conduct business, hold and convey real estate (the highest civil, social, and judicial tests of citizenship) in the State of Georgia. The citizen of Minnesota can do likewise in New York and so of each and in all the States. Independent States or supreme sovereignties do not allow these privileges to any but their own citizens. The United States do not, neither do other nations. Citizenship must precede the right to hold and convey real estate. All governments are naturally jealous of the alien. By this clause, no American citizen can be an alien in any State of the American Union. He is a citizen of the nation. No State can pass any law demanding more of a citizen not born, though residing within its limits, than from one born therein, or place him under any restrictions not com-

mon to the native or other citizen of such State. Not a vestige of "State" exclusiveness is there in the clause. Every idea of State supremacy is blotted out by it. A heavier blow is, however, dealt at State rights in the following section :

"The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion, and, on application of the Legislature, or of the Executive (when the Legislature can not be convened), against domestic violence."

The greatest of all rights that an independent State can or may have is the right to adopt its own form of government ; but this clause completely destroys such right on the part of any State of this Union to frame its own form of government. No State, for example, can have a monarchical government ; since the United States are to guarantee a *republican* form : and no State can adopt an hereditary or theocratic government, because the UNITED STATES are bound to give each State a republican government. In like manner we might run through all the forms of government that have ever blessed or cursed our race, without finding one which can be adopted by any State of this Union, except the single form of "republican," named in the Constitution. But can a State, bereft of the right to frame its own mode of government, be said to be possessed of "*sovereign* State rights," or could a more effectual provision against their development have been formed than this ?

"This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land ; and the Judges in every State shall be bound thereby ; anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.

"The Senators and Representatives before-mentioned, and the members of the several STATE LEGISLATURES, and all executive and judicial officers, both of the United States and of the SEVERAL STATES, shall be bound by oath or affirmation to support this Constitution."

This Constitution, these laws, these treaties, *shall be the supreme law*, no matter what "State" constitutions and "State" laws may declare. "Shall !" is the word, and there can be no doubt as to its meaning. Again, members of the State Legislatures, and all officers of the several States, "shall" be bound to support the "Constitution." Where are the "State rights" in these clauses ? Every State and every State official is made subordinate to and an executive of the acts of the "United States," and the United States constitutes a "*nation*." This is the only word which meets our case. WE ARE A NATION, not a "tenant-at-will sort of confederacy."

The waters of the Bay of new York and the Hudson river flow entirely within the States of New York and New Jersey. One of the vested rights of an independent State, is that known as "eminent domain," or supreme ownership, implying control. Apply this doctrine of State rights in this case, or rather, allow it to be applied by the States named above, and they could prevent the navigation of these waters by any but their own citizens or those to whom they might grant that privilege. If this doctrine of State rights is sound, these two States would have the right to levy tolls or duties on every vessel that sails those waters, as the State of New York exacts tolls on her canals. Such power thus exercised, would cripple commerce, inconvenience the public, and utterly destroy all comity between the States. This exacting tolls for navigation of waters, is one of the most offensive systems left us by past generations. It is so odious that modern governments decline to submit to it in cases where there is no doubt as to "State rights," as in that of the "Sound Dues" exacted by Denmark. If, however, the State is supreme within its limits, it has a perfect right to exact such tolls. But no State in this nation has any such right under the Constitution. Its existence would destroy the Union by placing each State under the laws and exactions of either one of the others. The troubles growing out of such exactions would beget dispute; these disputes would beget open strife, which would end in open rupture and the downfall of the NATIONAL UNION.

The "UNITED STATES," the "Union," the "Nation," are *supreme*. The States, *as States*, are subordinate; as "parts," they are inferior to the "whole." The "State rights" doctrine is wrong, disorganizing, destructive of national life, and must be destroyed.

Again, one grand evidence of a nation's or a people's civilization, is found in the correspondence, written and printed, conducted by the citizens. Barbarians have and need no correspondence. Civilization needs it, and cannot exist without it. A migratory people like ours have more correspondence than older and less migratory nations. A citizen emigrating from Vermont to Illinois must correspond with the friends of his old home. The old friend in Vermont must know how the absent one "gets along in the world." To conduct this correspondence, the postal or mail service was devised. Before its existence the communication between separated friends and business people was uncertain, irregular, and mere matter of chance, to be conveyed by stray travelers, or not interchanged at all. The *necessities* of civilization brought the postal or mail service into action. To conduct the service over a nation, requires the right of passage through the entire limits of the nation. This right, to be available, must have power to enforce its own requirements. It must be *central*, CONTROLLING, SUPREME. Without these, there would be no safety,

no system, no uniformity, no regularity. To ensure these to all the people of the States, the Constitution has wisely placed these powers in "THE CONGRESS" of the Union, of the "NATION." In accordance with the powers thus vested in Congress, our present postal or mail service has been created. No State has a right to interfere with the transportation of the national mails. "The UNITED STATES MAIL" is the term used. If any State had a right to establish a mail within its own limits, it would also have the right to prohibit or curtail the transportation of other States' mail through its limits. This right would destroy the entire system, and break up the interchange of correspondence so essential to our civilization. If the States had any such right, they could affix discriminating tariffs on the correspondence of other States passing through them. The State of New York, could, if this right existed, make the letters sent over its roads by the people of Massachusetts to the people of Ohio, pay just such tariffs for the "right of passage" as it might choose. The absurdity and utter unreasonableness of this claimed right is so apparent as to need no argument against it.

The exercise of this pretended right by the Southern States has caused the present rebellion. But for this doctrine we should not be expending over a million a day in supporting six hundred thousand men in camp, who ought to be producers of life instead of missionaries of death. This war is the legitimate result of this heresy of "State rights." If this doctrine had never been put in practice, we should not now have slavery to curse us with its degrading, inhumanizing influences. Slavery exists in *violation* of the Constitution. Slavery was never established by that document. The States violated it in their attempts at legalizing it. All their laws declaring that the *status* of the child must be that of the mother, are but so many "BILLS OF ATTAINDER," working "CORRUPTION OF BLOOD;" and every State, as well as Congress itself, was, and is positively prohibited by the Constitution from passing any such bill or law; and should we ever succeed in having any but a pro-slavery, slave-catching Supreme Court, all these laws will be annulled by their own unconstitutionality. True, there were slaves at the time the Constitution was adopted, but all then living are now dead; and but for this doctrine of "State rights," there never would have been any State law making the child of a slave mother also a slave; but for this doctrine, no such bill of attainder would have been passed, or, if passed, it never could have been enforced; and we should not to-day be listening to the cries of four millions of slaves, nor have the homes of thousands of honest citizens made desolate by the absence of loved ones. But for this terrible doctrine, "the click of hammers closing rivets up," would not now be giving "dreadful note of preparation." But for this heresy, subversive of all law, of all order,

of all nationality, we should not to-day be at war for our existence. But for this doctrine, and the right claimed by some of the States to extend their "bills of attainder," working corruption of blood over the entire Union, we should not have our homes filled with grief and our streets covered with the funeral pageants of brave men killed in defense of the Union. We want no more evidence of the accursed doctrine of "State rights." We are a UNION—a NATION. We must have NATIONAL LAWS, NATIONAL INSTITUTIONS, NATIONAL FREEDOM. We have had too much of State law, too much of State rights, too much of State slavery. The NATION MUST BE SUPREME. The States must be subordinate. As we uphold and perpetuate the national authority, so will be our existence as a people. As we detract from this, so will be our weakness and downfall.

GOD PRESERVE THE NATION !

ON STRIKES.

[The following remarks on the subject of Labor Strikes were made, before a Debating Society, and were printed in pamphlet form by request of the Society.]

I am opposed to Labor Strikes. I believe their results are injurious to the strikers and useless to the community. I grant the right of workmen to demand increased pay for their work, but deny their right to force any person into combinations for that purpose. Such force is injurious to those enforced, by depriving them of a chance to work for their living, and compelling them either to subsist on charity or to consume in idleness the savings of former labor. Combined strikes and trades' unions do this, when they require their members to stop work, because increased wages are demanded. This was the case at Lynn, where the "Scabs" (those who would work for what they could get, being thus called) were daily visited by the strikers' committee, and coaxed and threatened to compel them to desist from work. This is wrong. Strikes can never permanently benefit the strikers. Why? Because they are not based on correct principles. The price of labor, like that of all other salable articles, must be regulated by supply and demand. This is proved by the fact that the same labor commands more pay in one place than in another. California furnishes evidence of this. When the first rush took place to that State, in 1847, day laborers commanded five times as much for their services as they now get. Why? Simply because in 1847 the demand was in excess of the supply, and as the supply increased, as it is always sure to do under high wages, the wages were correspondingly reduced.

This must ever be so; were it otherwise, two very great injuries would result: First, the maintenance of *high prices* must, of necessity, be *at the cost of the consumer* of labor products; and secondly, if competition be not allowed in the labor market (as it could not be if supply and demand did not regulate prices), injustice must be done to those who would compete for the labor; and this injustice deprives these parties of the work they would be glad to do. So we must come back to letting supply and demand regulate prices, and this law can never permanently be set aside by strikes.

Take another view of the principle involved in this system of strikes. A store in Wall street rents for ten times as much as a similar one in Eighty-sixth street. Why? Simply because the demand for stores in Wall street is ten times as great as is the demand for stores in Eighty-sixth street. Now, suppose the landlords of Eighty-sixth street were to

apply the principle of strikes, and demand the same rent as the landlord of Wall street, does any man suppose they would succeed? We all know they would not, because the law of demand and supply is superior to the landlords; so it is with labor, and, therefore, labor strikes can never override these laws. They are as immutable as the principles of cause and effect.

Take another view. The consumers of any given article far outnumber the producers of that article. In some cases, perhaps, there are fifty consumers to one producer. Now, any strike or other cause that enhances the price of this product is at the cost of the consumer, for we all know that it is the consumer who eventually pays for all labor and profit of production; and the latter who has to pay more for his shoes in consequence of an advance caused by a strike, must in his turn ask higher prices for his hats; and so with the tailor and others; and if these cannot get advanced prices for their labor, all advance made to the shoemaker for his labor must be at the cost of these other workers; and this certainly is unjust to them, for its effect is to depreciate their labor by requiring more of it to buy their shoes.

So it is with all branches of industry and every class of consumers; all advances in the cost of manufacturing an article are at the expense of the consumer, and as there must always be more consumers of manufactured articles than producers, their interest must not be overlooked in any proposed change. Strikes never benefit the consumer. The producer of one product is of necessity the consumer of some other product; hence, the interest of the consumer is greater. Again: the system of strikes is unjust to the best workmen, even under the "piece" system, by compelling a uniformity of prices for anything that will pass inspection. This dulls the spur of ambition to excel in the quality of work, destroys the principle of "reward to merit," and places the passable botch on a par with the most perfect workman, all of which is at the cost of the consumer. Therefore I oppose these strikes. I believe in letting good work bring more than poor. Strikes place all on a common level, *provided* the work merely bears inspection.

It is said that the prices paid for work are not sufficient for the support of the workers. This proves that too many are engaged in that kind of work. The proper and only way to remedy that is, for some of those workers to quit that branch and follow others. But I am told that all branches are over-crowded with workers. But I deny that all branches are thus overstocked with labor everywhere. This overstock is confined to localities, and is not universal. This is proved by the fact that the same labor commands much higher prices in one place than in another, for the simple reason that demand and supply are different in these

localities; and strikes will never equalize or regulate these differences of localities.

Again. There are no laws compelling men to continue in work that pays so poorly, and if they continue in it, it shows that they can (being ruled by interest) do better at that than at anything else, or they would not follow it. Therefore, strikes are useless.

Again. If the surplus of labor by competition for work has reduced wages to a low figure, which in its turn has increased the stock of manufactured articles on hand, how can you expect an increase of wages to those workers, in the absence of an increased demand for their products? It is impossible; if you lessen the number of workers, and the demand for their labor is not decreased, it would be reasonable to demand increased pay; in fact, such decrease of the laborers would command an increase of their pay (though at the cost of the consumer). On the other hand, if the number of workers remained the same, and there should be an increased demand for their products, then their pay might be increased; thus again proving the omnipotence of supply and demand in regulating prices.

Strikes never add to consumption of manufactures, and of course cannot permanently add to wages; but on the contrary, decrease consumption, and thus injure the business of others.

While the shoemakers of Lynn are on a strike they cannot consume the coats, hats, &c., of the other mechanics of their town, and these others being curtailed in the sale of their labor in manufactured articles, cannot buy of the producers of provisions and luxuries as much as formerly, and we of New York, who act as the go-between of both consumers and producers, are curtailed in our business. Therefore, I oppose these strikes as injurious to all classes of the community and beneficial to none.

I have said that if wages were advanced by strikes, it must be at the cost of the consumer. I will illustrate this in a home case. In this city there is a baker and miller, who, by the aid of capital and machinery produces flour and bread cheaper and better than any other man in the city. Now, I believe that good flour and cheap bread are of the utmost importance to the consumer, especially the poor. The other millers and bakers attempted to apply the principle of strikes to this man by entering into a compact to see if they could not get him to sell as dearly as they did. He was not influenced by them, and went on selling bread and flour cheaper than the others. Now, suppose these strikers had gained their points, at whose cost would it have been? We all know that the consumer must have paid the extra price.

So with all strikes when successful in their demands; hence I am opposed to them. If they fail in getting the advances demanded, they entail

enormous expenses of money and loss of time on the strikers, and therefore I oppose them.

I am told that the tailors may strike for higher wages. I hope not. It is said, in excuse for the contemplated strike, that their wages are too low. Will strikes lessen the number of tailors or increase the demand for their work? If neither, then a strike will be injurious to them. There are many causes for the low price of needlework, by which I mean all work done by the needle, and the most controlling in its effects on prices for ordinary work on vests, pants, and cheap coats, is the immense amount of work done by the wives and daughters of thousands of farmers and others living near our big cities. Wagon-loads by the score of this work are done weekly by these people, and must continue to be thus done. Strikes will not lessen their number one single person; in fact, a strike among the tailors would have the effect to increase their number, and as these persons live cheaper than can our city tailors, the chances are that, once embarked in the work, it would be very difficult for the tailors to get the work out of their hands again; in fact, it would be almost impossible, for now, while the tailors are at work, these country workers are powerful competitors, and they would be much more powerful by an increase of their number, and they would surely thus increase, should the city workers stop and carry on a strike. But, say our city tailors, we can drive these people out, in the future, if we don't succeed in our strike, by resuming work again at the old rates. Not so, my friends. These country workers, having left their callings to make cheap clothing, will, in self-defence, stick to it, for their former work is now done by others. Don't you see, my friends, that this striking is not all on one side? It is a two-edged sword. It cuts two ways.

I told you that if strikers succeed in getting advanced wages it must be at the cost of the consumer. Friday papers furnish me proofs of this:

CABINET MAKERS' UNION.—On Wednesday evening a meeting of cabinet makers and manufacturers was held at Central Hall, Mr. Schoenenberger in the Chair. The organization of a Bosses' Union was completed, with a view to protecting the interests of the trade in the maintenance of a uniform standard of prices, to enable them to pay the wages demanded by the journeymen.

This is to the point, and this must always be the result. Strikes benefit no one. A few words as to the cost of strikes. The Lynn shoemakers have expended in cash, saved from former earnings, some \$10,000, a part of which was used for music, banners, dances, processions, etc. The time lost in idleness would have brought them, even at the low wages they complain of, at least \$30,000 more, making \$40,000. Now, how long will it take them, supposing they get the advanced prices they have demanded,

to earn this immense sum *over and above* what they were getting before they struck, and how long will it take them to make up this great loss at the old wages? Don't you see that strikes are extremely costly as well as wholly useless?

Trades' unions and strikers' combinations have advocated the requiring of three years' apprenticeship before men can have work at established prices. This at first sight looks well, as inducing good workmen; but there are other views of this matter. Some men are better qualified by taste, genius, and inclination, to perfect a job after one year's instruction, than others are at three, and to compel the former to work as apprentices as long as the latter is highly unjust. When a man can do work well he ought to have the best prices, whether he has worked one month or ten years under instruction. That is the only true and just principle of apprenticeship.

Again. To prevent persons who have not served a given time as pupils, from working at any trade, is to prevent competition and deprive these of opportunities to earn their living, and this at the cost of those who consume the products of such labor. Many mechanics leave families unprovided for at their death. Among them are half-grown lads, who, by a little training (not three years) and the spur of necessity, may soon produce as good a hat, or boot, or coat, or lay as many bricks, as did their father, the dead mechanic. Now I assert that these boys are entitled to all they earn, just as much as is the man, whether they have served longer or shorter terms as apprentices, the only test being the production of equal amounts of equally good work.

Strikers' and trades' unions prevent this fair system of pay for so much labor, by demanding long apprenticeships. They are all unjust. They have grown out of that old and nearly exploded idea of the people looking to some person beyond themselves to take care of them. Trades' unions and strikers' combinations are the off-shoots of the idea that people must look to governments or ask societies to see to them. Their tendency is to destroy the principle of self-dependence, reliance on one's own self, on one's own capacity to stem the tide of life's struggles, to destroy all individuality, to deaden all personal ambition, and to blot out all those great efforts by which a man works his way up and over the difficulties that meet him in the battle of life. These societies sink the man in the mass, deprive him of ambition to excel, beget in him a feeling of dependence on something besides himself, foster in him that slavish idea of "*I can't do anything*," instead of encouraging that other and nobler idea, "*I will do everything*." All such societies and combinations are bad, bad, bad. Mr. Draper, of Lynn, stated at the Cooper Institute, in asking for

money to aid the strikers, that there were in his town 300 indigent shoemakers out of work, supported by charity.

Now just see what injustice the strike did in this case. These 300 men wanted work ; they needed work ; they could not live without work : yet these strikes compelled those poor men to stop earning their bread ; and, not satisfied with this, they actually *compelled* them to subsist on charity ; and still worse, if possible, they really taxed those who had something to live on, with the support of these 300 indigent men ; and, after using up all they could beg at home for their support, these strikers actually sent beggars all over the country to beg of hard-working men money to support these 300 paupers in idleness ; and this man, Draper, pretending to be a *free* American working man, had the audacity to stand before a New York audience of laboring men and ask for money to support these idlers, not from choice, as he tells us, but idlers by the demands of these strikers ; and that, too, in face of the fact that the cessation of these men from work must have the positive effect to increase the price of the articles made by the strikers, and consumed by those whose money they were begging. Thus it is with strikes. The workers of this city ought to have sent Draper home with his pockets as empty as his head.

We are told that the bosses are always ready and willing to oppress the workmen by low wages, and sympathy is demanded for the men. This is a false issue ; there is no sense in it. It involves the idea of classes, and fosters unwise prejudices, and separates communities by making fictitious distinctions. The boss of to-day is, in this country, the journeyman of to-morrow, and the journeyman of to-day is the employer of to-morrow. We have no castes or classes, with exclusive privileges, not open to all alike. The interest of the worker cannot be separated from that of the employer ; one is dependent on the other, and neither can exist alone. Hence, all ideas calculated to prejudice one against the other injure both.

Again. The journeymen are just as apt to attempt to oppress the bosses by asking more pay, as are the bosses, on the other side, to attempt to oppress the journeymen by reducing their wages. They both act from self-interest, each trying to get the greatest income from the least outgo ; and both are justified as single individuals ; but both would be wrong in compelling others to join them by the aid of strikes. societies, unions, etc.

We are told that government should by legislation make such provision for the people as would obviate the necessity of strikes and trades' unions. I protest against this interference by government with our individual affairs. We already have too much of this interference—too much

of governmental prying into private business. I am opposed to the whole system as tending to centralization ; to building up a powerful centralized despotism, by the down-pulling of personal rights and individual privileges. If you ask the government to feed, clothe, protect, and furnish you with work, and interpose in your behalf as regards employment and wages, what more natural than for government to turn round and demand from you whatever it chooses in the way of taxes, fat offices, and expensive officials, and a complete surrender of all your personal liberties and individual rights, under the plea of the public good ?

No, Mr. Chairman, the working men of America should be the very last of all the world to ask the interference of government ; but they should be the first to demand of that government the right to be let alone. They should remember that this idea of depending on the government deadens all improvement in their condition. In some European countries everything has always been done under the fatherly care of the government, and there the condition of the workers does not improve, and never will till the people rise superior to the government. Let American workers ask nothing from the government.

Keep clear of governmental care ; keep clear of strikes ; shun trades' unions ; keep out of combinations ; stick to individual effort ; make your services so valuable to the employer, so necessary to the public, that they cannot be dispensed with, and you will have no need of strikes or government aid.

EMANCIPATION.

ITS INFLUENCE ON THE REBELLION AND EFFECT ON THE WHITES.

(Written in August, 1861.)

[From the Knickerbocker Magazine, October, 1861.]

WE are in a rebellion or insurrection of extraordinary magnitude. Common consent attributes it to the existence of Slavery. The cause being removed, the disease dies. The removal of a dam allows the free course of the stream. Remove the dam of Slavery from the broad river of the Union, and the pure waters of Freedom will speedily wash this foul scum of Rebellion into the great gulf of the Past. Slavery, however, is, in the opinion of many well-meaning people, a *constitutional* disease, to be removed only by a remodeling of that instrument to suit the new condition of the political patient. The honest scruples of these persons must be respected. Another large class assert that the disease is not constitutional, but in violation of that law of national life, and that all our political diseases arise from such violation. The opinions of these people are also entitled to attention, and, however they may differ from the former, on these matters, all agree that, had there been no slavery in the South, there would have been no rebellious attempts to overthrow the Government and extend "the institution." This is the common platform on which all stand, one of its planks being a desire to end this rebellion and establish peace with honor to the Government and the people. So far so good.

Another plank in this political structure is the admission that Emancipation would end the rebellion at once and effectually. The first named parties, that is to say, those who believe that the Constitution protects Slavery, are loth to adopt this course so long as there is any possibility of otherwise crushing the rebellion, but are willing to resort to this remedy if nothing else will cure the disease. I address a few words to this class. Many of the wisest and best men whom our country has ever produced, deny most emphatically that the Constitution protects or even recognizes Slavery; but, for the present purpose, let it be admitted that it does both recognize and protect that institution. Now it is a principle of law, as well as of common sense and common justice, that those who violate the law, do by such acts forfeit their rights to enjoy the privileges the law guarantees to those who obey its provisions. Thus, murderers, burglars, forgers, or any criminals who transgress the law, forfeit their rights under it, and are deprived of their liberties, or it may be of their lives,

simply because they have done unpardonable violence to the law; and any attorney who should set up the plea that his murdering or thieving client was having his legal rights interfered with by the gallows or the prison, would naturally deserve and gain the contempt of the community. Violators of law forfeit their claims to the rights guaranteed to those who obey it. If such violators continued to enjoy the same privileges in society as those who never offend, there would be an end to all law, and civilization be extinguished. Force would take the place of order, and the weak yield to the strong.

The distinguishing trait of civilization is, that the weakest member of the community is, in the eye of the law, strong as the strongest; were it otherwise, there could be no civilization. The South, or those living in the Southern States, *who have by their rebellion violated the Constitution, have forfeited their claims to its protection*, and are now, in their relation to the government, in the same position as that of a convicted criminal towards society—they have no legal or constitutional rights left them except the right of trial, and that trial is now going on from day to day in presence of the whole world, having DERRY for the presiding Judge and humanity for the jury, and must be dealt with by government as the law and society deal with individual criminals. They must be *punished* for their transgressions, and as these have been greater than the transgressions of any single criminal, so the punishment to be awarded must be great in proportion, and the severest that can be inflicted is to deprive them of that institution for the perpetuation of which, as their so-styled Vice-President declares, they began the rebellion. Hence we may assume that it will be right, proper, and efficacious to proclaim Emancipation throughout the rebellious States, and that such declaration will not, for the reasons above given, be any violation of the Constitution or any infringement of their legal rights.

There are many who admit the efficacy of Emancipation, but who—timid and temporizing—invariably speak of it as a “last resort.” And why *last*? It is admitted that this rebellion is purely and solely the work of the slaveholders. It is also admitted that the government would be justified in proclaiming Emancipation “*as a last resort.*” Allow me to ask what is meant by this “*last resort?*” If it is meant that when the government, backed up by the people of the loyal States, shall have tried by other means to crush this rebellion, and failing in all others, then, and not till then, Emancipation is to be proclaimed—if this is what is meant by a “*last resort,*” allow me to suggest that it is a most “lame and impotent conclusion.” Think. It is proposed to have government do all it can by its armies, by blockade, by non-intercourse, by stopping mails, by fines, by imprisonment, etc., and failing with all these powerful aids to crush

the most wicked rebellion that ever cursed humanity, then Emancipation may be proclaimed. The proclamations of a government thus defeated in its attempts to maintain its existence by putting down such a rebellion, would not be worth the paper they were written on. *Who would respect them?* Not those whom its armies could not conquer; not those whom its fines and imprisonment could not intimidate; not those whom it would, by proclamation, liberate. Why? Because a government thus weak, thus unable to maintain itself by enforcing its laws, would not have the power to make its proclamations respected. If such a proclamation is to be issued at all, now is the time, while the government is strong, or has the credit of being strong enough to *compel* respect to its edicts.

Thus much for the scruples of the temporizers, and their willingness to use Emancipation as a "last resort." Let us now discuss a side-issue, and one that is often urged as an objection to Emancipation. I refer to the fear that a declaration of Emancipation would inaugurate a servile insurrection, and that a second act of the St. Domingo tragedy would be enacted in our Southern States. But why should the slaves join in insurrection, and cut their masters' throats, *in face of the fact that the government had proclaimed Emancipation, and would in self-defense enforce such proclamation by its armies*, just as it does and must enforce all its other acts? The government having proclaimed these slaves free, they then become men, would be no longer "chattels personal;" and being men, would be entitled to the rights of citizens, and consequently to protection from government. In enforcing this protection, government might use these freed people themselves as instruments with which to execute its decrees, while at the same time this very use of them *implies the ability of government to control them, and thus most effectually prevent all possibility of servile insurrections on the part of the blacks*, as it is now trying to do with the more dangerous insurrection of their white masters. The true and only way forever to prevent all slave insurrections is to have no slaves to rise.

There were no unusual or improper excitements when Emancipation took effect in the British West Indies. There would be none here. As the hour drew near that was to set thousands of human beings free, and transform them from mere chattels to human beings, every breath grew shorter, every pulse beat quicker, and every ear listened with intense eagerness to catch the first sound of that bell that was to proclaim "LIBERTY THROUGHOUT ALL THE LAND, UNTO ALL THE INHABITANTS THEREOF," and when its last echoes died away, in the valleys of those beautiful islands, there arose such a shout of joy as never before found vent from human lips. So would it be in our own South. Emancipation never begot insurrection. That is the natural offspring of Slavery.

I have thus disposed of the insurrectionary objections, and will now consider the *conceded* rights of loyal slaveholders in the rebellious States, for it is admitted that they have rights which should be respected. Let government lay a tax on the whole people of the Confederacy, loyal and rebellious, and collect it, when laid, at the point of the bayonet if necessary (and this, as a matter of pecuniary economy, would be better than to carry on a long war), and pay these loyal men for their slaves. Let the same be done with the border slave States, and thus by purchase from good citizens and by confiscation from rebellious ones, would be established UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION throughout our United States.

I have thus argued the case up to the establishment of Emancipation. I will now consider its influence as a means of crushing the rebellion. Facts warrant the assumption, that this rebellion had its origin in, and is carried on for the sole purpose of extending and perpetuating slavery. All the orators of the South, all the leaders of their public opinion, take this position; they even say that our present Constitution is good enough in every particular save one, and that one defect in that great document is, that it does not provide sufficiently for the extension, perpetuation, and protection of slavery, and therefore, as they have not at the present time the *political power* to alter that instrument (in accordance with its provisions) so as to suit it to their views, they resort to *physical force*, and cover their States with great armies, with the avowed determination of destroying this Constitution and the government founded on it, and thus making room for their own more perfect *Slavery-making, bondage-extending document*. This is their avowed object, patent to the world. Now, if we can by any means proper to use, put an end to this institution, will not such act put an end to this wicked rebellion? If we effectually extinguish slavery in the rebellious States, and prohibit its future introduction there, will we not establish peace? If cause precedes effect, we will most assuredly. The rebels must lay down their arms and submit to the laws when we have deprived them of the power (I assume that we have the power to enforce our proclamation, and if we have not, we are no longer a government) to continue the existence of their institution, and thus we shall see the positive influence of Emancipation as a means to crush the rebellion and establish peace. Let Emancipation be proclaimed, and down goes the Slaveholders' Rebellion.

Having thus established the position that Emancipation will crush out the insurrection, I will now consider its effects on the whites of both sections, South as well as North. I assume that there is a certain amount of labor to be done in the Southern States, and that the freed negroes, from experience and acclimation, are the best qualified persons to perform that labor, and would be employed to do it under a system of wages

(instead of the lash), prices being regulated by the laws of demand and supply. These negroes, being thus paid for their work, would consume more of the products of white men employed in the mechanic arts ; more especially those products not absolutely necessary to life, as cheap ornaments, and those thousands of fancy articles that an uneducated people are so fond of, and which they always buy so freely in proportion to their means.

But, it may be said, this system of wages would enhance the cost of the products grown by the labor of these people, and this increased cost would have to be borne by the consumers of these products.

If this were true, it would be owing to the fact, that these black people free, would get more for their labor than black people in bondage ; and if this were so, then it would follow, that the freeing of these people would have the effect of "*leveling up*" the price of labor to a point where the poor white men of those regions could afford to do it, a condition of things not heretofore existing in any slave State, the rule there being, that the planter, who owns both capital and labor, can afford to do work cheaper than the poor white, who merely owns his labor, which he wishes to sell, and can find no market for, because he cannot work as cheap as the black slave of the capitalist. Hence it is, that there are so many of the "poor white trash" scattered all over the South. Emancipation, according to this reasoning (originated by the opponents of Emancipation), would benefit the poor white most decidedly. The increased demand by the freed blacks for the products of the whites, both South and North, would add greatly to the demand for the labor of these whites, and thus Emancipation would benefit them pecuniarily, to say nothing of its removing the degradation now attached to labor in consequence of slavery. Where there are no slaves, laboring men are respectable and respected. Where slavery exists, the laborer is neither. The New England States illustrate the one condition, and the South the other.

But, say some, if you emancipate the negroes they will not work ; the stimulus of wages is not sufficient to induce them to labor. Well, grant that they will not. Suppose they choose to drag out a miserable, hand-to-mouth existence, as the poor whites of the South now do, and earn barely enough under the pressure of starvation to support life. What, then ? If they refuse to work as regularly and efficiently as heretofore, will not *their refusal make a demand for the labor of the poor whites of both sections, and thus materially help to draw off from the great cities of the North the surplus labor, now vainly seeking employment, and thus greatly benefit those laborers ?* Such neglect to work by the freed negroes would have none other than a beneficial effect on the poor whites, by giving them the work that the free blacks refuse to do ; but if the freed

blacks go on and work industriously for wages, then their increased ability to consume would of necessity make an increased demand for the products of white men, now employed in the manufactures consumed by the blacks. Thus Emancipation, like all GOOD DEEDS, would bring its own reward.

I have thus endeavored to show that a proclamation of Emancipation would end the rebellion ; that its effects would be beneficial to the whites, and if my arguments are sound, let the People, who make and unmake administrations, demand of the present Government an immediate PROCLAMATION OF EMANCIPATION.

[The above article was written in August, just before the appearance of Fremont's Proclamation. Its appearance in an old conservative magazine like the Knickerbocker, caused considerable excitement amongst its readers, many of whom banished it from their libraries.]

CONFISCATION OF SLAVES.

JUSTICE OR VINDICTIVENESS.

To the Editor of the New York Times :

I clip the following extract from your columns of the 24th of January, 1862 :

“ Another bill, authorizing the President to emancipate the slaves of rebel owners, was then discussed and tabled by a vote equally decided. It is evident the House hesitates to enter on this vindictive business.”

You claim to be a loyal man. I believe you are, yet the last sentence of the above extract might be construed otherwise. Let us see. The Government is at war for its existence. Its foes are its own children. Those children do all in their power to destroy their parent. They have, among others, one peculiar source of strength that enables them to place more men under arms against the Government than they could, but for this source. It is proposed to deprive these rebellious children of this source of strength and place it on the side of the Government, and you style this proposition “vindictive.” It is a new idea that in war, a measure tending to weaken your enemy is vindictive. War means destruction. To destroy your enemy is not vindictive. If he has a vulnerable point you are bound, in justice to those who fight your battles, to assail him in that point, and doing so is not vindictive. The labor performed by the slaves of the rebels would have to be performed by their soldiers if their slaves were taken from them. This would weaken them just so much. In the rebel States there are slaves sufficient to do the work of as many white men as are now in the rebel army. Deprive these rebels of their slaves and you destroy their armies, either by forcing them to become working producers, or by starvation arising from non-production. Either way destroys your enemy, by lessening his strength. But, say you, the residents of the rebel States are not *all rebels*. Granted; still, that does not affect the proposition which proposes to take *only* the slaves of rebels. But, you ask, how will we discriminate between the rebels and those who are loyal? Thus : We will confiscate every slave in the rebellious States and invite them to come to our side. If it is found that in this general confiscation the slaves of really true and loyal men have been made free, we will pay for their ransom at a reasonable rate. But, say you, this is an interference with the rights of the States, as slavery is a State institution, and not to be meddled with by the National or General Government. This might have been true to

a certain extent *before* the rebellion, but as these States have, *as States*, rebelled against that General Government, they have by that act forfeited all the rights they had (as States) previous to such act, just as an individual criminal forfeits his personal rights under the law by a violation of the law made for the protection of all. You may tell me that a general confiscation of the slaves would, notwithstanding my proposed ransom money, work injury to particular persons. Possibly; so does the punishment of the individual work the injury of disgrace to his family and friends. Yet our sympathy for such persons does not prevent us from meting out that justice required for the good of society.

The few persons who might possibly be inconvenienced by a general confiscation of slaves stand to the entire Union as does the innocent members of a convict's family to the community. The misfortunes of neither, growing out of consanguinity or accident of locality, should weigh naught against the interest of the great whole. We desire to end the rebellion. Will a general confiscation of slaves do this? Yes, for the reason given above. It will weaken the enemy. You say it is "vindictive." You do not say it is inefficacious—in fact, you admit its efficacy in referring it to the President for use as a war power, to be used in his discretion. Will it not be as "vindictive" when used by him as "a war power," as if used by him as the Executive of a Congressional resolve or enactment? If it will be efficacious when used by the President, why not let Congress request or require him to use it? Why spend three millions a day in prolonging a war which, according to your own showing, can be speedily ended? You say it is "vindictive" to end the war by the means proposed. Our enemies shoot our pickets from ambuscades, and when we propose to weaken him by taking away his main source of strength, you tell us it is "vindictive." Our sons and brothers are killed by poisoned meats and drugged drinks, yet when we propose a way to end the war, and bring them to their homes, you tell us it is "vindictive."

These rebels bury our dead martyrs with their faces downward, looking toward that region to which their murderers will go, and when we propose to remove the living companions of these murdered ones beyond the reach of their barbarism, by depriving them of their great strength, we are told that it is "vindictive."

The skulls of our brave boys are made into drinking cups by the very rebels whose slaves we propose to confiscate, and when we say deprive them of the power to polish more skulls, we are accused of being "vindictive."

Good men volunteering to uphold their country's flag, and pour out their blood like water in its defense, are Bull Run-ed and Ball's Bluff-ed

to untimely graves, and when we suggest a mode of ending such wholesale murdering, we are called "vindictive."

Liberal citizens contribute freely to relieve the needs of families whose supporters are fighting our battles, and when we point a way to stop these drains on our charities, we are told we are "vindictive."

When loyal men from Rebel States, like POLK, MAYNARD, BROWNLOW, and others, whose homes have been desolated, and their wives and daughters foully abused, call on us to adopt this remedy *for their protection*, we are told we are "vindictive."

The slaves of these murdering rebels offer their services to our armies as guides, pilots and messengers, and when we propose to invite them to do more of this righteous work by an act of confiscation, we are met by the cry of vindictiveness. The only reliable information we ever have had of the rebels' condition has been furnished by the slaves of these rebels, and if we ask for more such help we are "vindictive."

Had our Generals been less vindictive in returning these loyal black men to their white rebel masters, and more energetic in using the information they brought them, we should to-day be much nearer the end of the rebellion than we are.

It seems to me, Mr. Editor, that you have used the wrong word—instead of vindictive, say JUSTICE, and you will be right.

FREEDING AND ARMING THE SLAVES.

[Anti-Slavery Standard, Aug. 2, 1862.]

To the President of the United States:

HONORED SIR: If ever the voice of the people might be considered the voice of God, it was when that voice called you to Washington. Partisan politicians had dragged our country down to the lowest deeps of degradation. Conspiracy had poisoned the head of the nation. Treason had mined the foundations of the capital. Volcanoes were rumbling over a great part of our land, threatening to pour forth the lava that should destroy. Dark clouds, portending great storms, appeared on the horizon. Distant thunders, betokening approaching tempests, were heard all around. Fitful gusts of wind gave warning of the coming tornado. The great ship of State, under the control of insane officers and a treason-maddened crew, was rushing on toward deadly breakers. The passengers, wild with affright, and, in their despair, sweating great drops of blood, called for help, and the voice of the ALMIGHTY, spoken by human tongues, called you, ABRAHAM LINCOLN, to the helm. I doubt if sacred or profane history can produce a more direct providential intervention in the affairs of a people. I speak reverently when I say that God knew the instrument he was selecting for the salvation of this nation. I design no flattery for you, Mr. President—none whatever; you are the mere human clay in the hands of the Almighty Potter, to be fashioned by His will. Yet, like all human agents employed by our Universal Father for the good of his children, you are endowed with powers of discretion, and will be held responsible for the proper use thereof. Since you have filled the great office you have been called to, you have done well. I believe no man could have done better. God be praised for what you have accomplished. If the prayers and wishes of thousands of honest hearts are of avail to a public officer, you, Mr. President, have been and are well sustained. Nightly, from the homes of loyal thousands whose loved ones are doing and dying for their country's life, and weekly from ten thousand pulpits, ascend heartfelt prayers for the head of the Nation—for you, Abraham Lincoln. See to it that no deed of yours shall give cause of regret to these prayerful ones. Let not the blessings so lavishly invoked on your head be, by any act of yours, turned to curses. Providence has invested you with as much authority as ever fell to human hands. Use it wisely; use it well. On assuming this authority, you found your country divided by treason. On the side of the traitors you

found slavery; on the side of loyalty you found freedom. These hosts still oppose each other. Still, slavery is trying to destroy the government established for freedom. Are you doing all that your high position demands for freedom, for government, for right, for justice? Do you realize, as you ought, that while you hesitate to assume what you may conscientiously consider doubtful powers, in behalf of freedom as against slave-working rebellion, thousands on thousands of your loyal fellow-citizens are going down to their graves? Do you realize that honest homes are made desolate by camp-engendered disease, that walketh by noonday and resteth not by night? Death deprived you of a loved one since you have been President—death in its least repulsive form. Your cherished one breathed its last in the arms of parents, surrounded by the care that never tires. Yet you grieved. Think, Mr. President, of the heart-rending miseries that thousands of fathers as loving as yourself, daily and hourly suffer by the prolongation of this terrible war. Your child died under your roof; their sons are dying on the battle-fields, wasting in deadly camps, and marching down to the dead from diseased hospitals. Names of killed and wounded and sick fill our papers. Death reaps a rich harvest. Sorrow reigns supreme. Millions of people believe that much, very much, of future woe may be prevented if you will call to the aid of the nation ALL THE HELP within its reach, without stopping to see if the Constitution provides such aid. Our national edifice is on fire. The flames are destroying its timbers. The great want is *water*, WATER. We have no time to waste in discussions as to the nature of these elements. We know that the one which is in the greatest force will conquer. The fire of rebellion, aided by the work done by slaves, is destroying us. Our only safety is in pouring on the WATERS OF FREEDOM fast enough to quench the flames.

We have been manning the engines for long, burning months. Our men have dropped dead in their harness. Still we have worked, and still the infernal fire rages. Slaves who to-day are helping rebellion by their labor had rather work for the nation. All they ask is *opportunity*, OPPORTUNITY, OPPORTUNITY. To you, Mr. President, has God intrusted the duty of preserving this nation, of putting out this fire. Will you not rise above all party or personal prejudices, and grasp every and all means that can be reached? This terrible rebellion is in one section. The other section is loyal. God deals with people in mass. The people of the rebellious States as a *mass* are armed traitors. If there are any loyal States among them, they should be protected in their rights, but such protection should not tend to the defense of traitors nor to the destruction of loyal ones in other States. They may be pitied for the misfortunes of locality. We of the loyal States have suffered, are suffering badly, as a *whole*.

This loyal few of the traitor region must not complain if they, too, suffer. The nation is rich, is just. If by any act of the government these should sustain unjust loss, they can be made whole—not so with the nation. If its life is taken by this rebellion, no earthly power can restore it. To you, Mr. President, under Providence, we look to preserve its existence. We are laying down our lives and pouring out our money to aid you. All we ask is that we be not utterly exhausted before you call to our assistance the hundreds of thousands of slaves (now working for the rebels), every one of whom would gladly work for us if invited or allowed. As a mass, these slaves are our friends. They have acted as our guides and pilots. They are ready to work and to fight for the old flag, if that flag will only protect them. Justice to them as a people dictates their emancipation. Protection to ourselves demands that we use them. The first principle of war, that of weakening your enemy, requires that we invite them to our lines. Our rebellious enemy lives on the food they produce. His soldiers rest while his slaves do the tiresome work that wears out our brave men. You, Mr. President, can change all this. The common-sense eloquence that your proclamations carry, can send hope to the loyal, fear to the rebels, and joy to the slave. As a mass, the people of the rebel States are traitors; as a mass they should be punished. Inviting their slaves to help us would be a punishment: that punishment should be administered. You are the man to apply it. The harvest fields of the loyal States are white with the bread that is to feed us. Hands cannot be had to gather in the great crops a kind Providence has given us. You ask for three hundred thousand more men. The nation is willing to give them. But where shall they come from at this season? If the harvest is left ungathered, we invite starvation for the future. The rebel States, too, have their harvest to secure. *They have slaves to secure it.* We have none. Thank God we have none. A proclamation from you, Mr. President, inviting their slaves to help us, with a promise of freedom, would bring more strong arms and willing hearts to our armies in the South than you now ask the loyal States to furnish. This weakens our enemy, gives us the services of men to gather our harvest, and saves the lives of thousands of as true men as ever lived. The wickedness of this treason deserves this punishment. Our own self-preservation demands it. View this in another light. Admit that the majority of the people of the traitor States are loyal and should not be wronged of their property or personal rights. All governments take private property for public uses by paying a reasonable price therefor. Without this well-settled principle nations could not exist. Without it we could have no roads, canals, parks, or other public things. Apply this principle to those loyal ones of the South whose slaves might

leave them on your invitation. No injustice would ensue. If they are loyal, they ought to aid the nation to the extent of their ability. We of the loyal States do that. Those of the traitor States must bear their share of the burden. This is simple justice. Wherever our army goes, there also go Federal laws. These laws exact obedience from a black slave just as imperatively as from a white freeman. These laws protect the slave in his right to life. For this protection he should yield service. You, Mr. President, can acquire that service. In conclusion, I implore you, by your love of country, by the sympathy you bear your fellow-citizens, by the love of Freedom, by your regard for right, for justice, to call to your aid the help of ALL CLASSES OF PERSONS, IN ALL PARTS OF OUR COUNTRY, whether they be WHITE OR BLACK, BOND OR FREE, NATIVE OR ALIEN, let all, who can help, have an opportunity, and when in future times the historian writes your name, it will be in LETTERS OF GOLD, as the PRESERVER of the NATION. GOD BLESS YOU, ABRAHAM LINCOLN!

PRISONERS OF WAR, PRIVATEERS, ETC.

To the Editor of the New York Times:

IN your paper of last Thursday, you seem to have some hesitancy as to the proper way of treating prisoners of war, pirates, and others found in arms against the government and people of the United States. Do not accuse me of egotism if I assert that there is no need of any halting (but there *is* need of a vast amount of haltering) in the matter. What are the facts? A part of the people have attempted to subvert the government by force of arms. The government (the centralized and legal embodiment of the people), in maintaining its authority, also resorts to arms. Collisions and battles occur. Both sides take prisoners. Now comes the question, "What shall be done with these men?" I admit the question is one of vast importance, not only as regards the proper way of dealing with the rebellion, but also as to the *personal* rights and privileges, pains and penalties of the captured men. *The government should not treat its captured rebels as prisoners of war.* Neither should it do that other and much worse thing, discharge them on their parol. To do the first is a virtual admission that the rebels are a *lawful enemy*. This must not be admitted. If it is, ground is laid for their recognition by foreign nations. The government must do all in its power to place the rebels *outside* of law, and not allow them to claim or exercise any legal privileges whatever.

They are rebels, and should be treated as such. When taken in arms against the government, they should be disarmed, and compelled to aid the government in maintaining itself against the rebels. They should never be treated as prisoners of war, neither should the government ever recognize a flag of truce from rebels. Every man bearing such a flag should be arrested as a rebel, the bearing the flag being *prima facie* evidence of his being a rebel; for if there were no rebels there could be no rebellion, and if there were no rebellion, there could be no war or collision needing the intercession of a flag of truce. Every bearer of one should be locked up as a rebel. No treating with them as lawful enemies. No discharging or swearing allegiance. Men that forswear their natural inherited allegiance, by engaging in a rebellion against a government like ours, cannot be trusted on their oath, especially an oath taken under such circumstances. Never trust a rebel's oath.

So much for land rebels. Now about rebels and pirates afloat. They should be hung at the yard-arm of the national vessel capturing them,

without ever being brought ashore to be tried and sympathized with, and kept at the public expense. The summary hanging of a few would scare the rest and drive them from the ocean. It may be asked, why hang water rebels (pirates), and not hang land rebels? I answer, the former not only rebel against and defy the Government, but add to that the preying on *private property*, and by all laws of all nations are outlaws, and not entitled to any of the legal amenities of ordinary criminals. The excuse that they have letters-of-marque from the head rebel is of no avail. He cannot delegate powers to others that he does not hold himself. He and his rebel coadjutors have no legal national existence, and their warrants for piracy (or privateering) are of no more validity than so much paper from a wild Comanche chief, authorizing raids on the border settlers. All these piratical rebels should be hung at the yard-arm instant. Being caught in the act is proof enough without wasting time in court trials. If they are not pirates then is TILLMAN a murderer, and should be given over to trial and execution. I may be told that if we hang these men, the rebels will retaliate on our men taken by them. In fact, this is already threatened. Well, terrible as it is, the sentence must be written. *Let them retaliate.* Do not accuse me of barbarism or lack of sympathy for our poor unfortunates who are now or may hereafter be prisoners. I have personal friends now in their hands, and realize fully what I write when I say "let the rebels retaliate." If we hesitate one moment to hang their pirates and punish their rebels on account of any fear for the safety of our men in their hands, or in consequence of any threats they make, then we may just as well lay down our arms and yield up the government to them, and sue for mercy.

Rebels taken in arms against the government must not be treated as prisoners of war subject to an exchange. To do so discourages our own loyal men, who will not fight for such result. Flags of truce borne by rebels must not be respected, but their bearers must be treated as rebels. To do otherwise is to encourage treason. Privateers must be summarily hanged as a warning to others and as a protection to law-abiding citizens. No leniency, no recognition of letters-of-marque, no attention to threats of retaliation. Let the Government be firm and swift in its punishment of treason and piracy, and peace will the sooner return to our borders.

August, 1861.

OBJECTIONS TO THE PROPOSED STAMP TAX ON NEWSPAPERS, MAGAZINES, PERIODICALS, ETC.

[The following appeared in the New York daily papers, in January, 1862.]

I am opposed to this proposition in toto. It is bad in theory, and worse in practice. Why? The present prices of newspapers, &c., will not admit of the proposed duty being paid by the publishers. If the tax is paid by them, its cost must be added to the price paid by the consumer. This must curtail their sale and circulation. This curtailment of sale injures all industries connected with the manufacture of the paper—such as paper-makers, binders, engravers, printers, pressmen, ink-makers, expressmen, &c.

Government should do nothing to cripple the legitimate manufactures of its people. The proposed tax or stamp duty would thus cripple an important industry, besides requiring more capital to conduct the business than is now required.

Why more capital? The duty to be collected by stamping each copy or sheet published would require the printing of the stamp in some Government office, or under the supervision of some Government official, *before the publisher could use it* for printing his matter thereon; and this requires an increased amount of unprinted paper to be kept on hand. Again, the money for the stamp must be paid to the Government before the publisher sells and gets pay for his paper; and this is another addition to the capital required for publishing papers, &c. This shuts men of limited means out of the business, by requiring heavy capital to conduct it.

Government should not, by its legislation, discourage legitimate trade of any kind, by any system of special taxation that would require additional capital to conduct such trade. The true interest of the people is best promoted by that sort of legislation that leaves the people free to engage in any and as many different callings as their inclinations prompt and their capital will admit. Onerous taxes on specified articles are sure to cripple such industries. The proposed stamp tax is one of this kind, and ought never to be laid.

Again, Government should do all in its power to promote the spread of intelligence and knowledge among its people. Its own greatness is promoted thereby; its own permanence is guaranteed by this course. The strength of the Government depends more on the intelligent minds

of its people than on the muscles of their arms. Proof of this : The greatest number of papers, &c., read in America, are read in the Free States ; the fewest in the Slave States. The former are all loyal and true to the Government ; all of them responded with alacrity to the calls of the Executive for men and money. Nearly all of the latter are in rebellion against the Government, and some of those few which are not, set up the plea of neutrality, or refused to furnish men for the Union until their own borders were invaded by rebel troops. Had there been as many low-priced, largely circulated, well-conducted papers in the Slave States as in the Free, it would have been impossible to have gotten up the present rebellion. Good government depends on intelligence. Despotism rests on ignorance. Any tax that adds to the price of paper, &c., containing intelligence for the people, restricts the spread of that intelligence, and that hurts the Government.

A case in point : Government desires to inform its citizens of the proceedings of Congress. Why ? That they may be the better able to know what their representatives and Executive are doing. To this end Congress allows the *Congressional Globe* to go through the mails everywhere *free of postage*. If the dissemination of the information contained in the *Globe* is of no benefit to the people, why let it go *post free* ? Every person knows, and the Government through Congress admits, that this information is of vital interest to all, and therefore Congress wisely allows all newspapers sent to publishers in exchange for others to pass through the mails free of postage. Why ? The better to enable each publisher to fill his paper with the greatest amount of information for the people. Congress acts wisely in this. Again, Congress is now discussing, or has passed a bill fixing the postage on public documents at two cents a pound while the postage on other printed matter is sixteen cents a pound. Why this difference ? Because Congress considers that the dissemination of the information contained in those documents is important to the people. This is right. There should be no special tax on knowledge.

If Congress wants to raise money by taxation, let it be done by a general and uniform tax on the entire property or capital of the country, of every kind and nature, and not on any particular industry that adds to that property and capital.

Perhaps there is no country in the world that has so few persons unable to read, in proportion to the entire population, as our own, and this universal ability to read is traceable, in a great degree, to the cheapness with which the ability to read can be made useful by means of an unrestricted and cheap press ; for of what use would the art of reading be to the mass of poor people if the price of books, papers, &c., &c., were beyond their reach ? The productions of the low-priced periodical press

have done as much to instruct the people as have our schools. In fact, but for the cheapness of reading matter furnished by the periodical press, much of the rudimentary learning taught in these schools would have been limited in its usefulness. The periodical press, being left free and unrestricted by governmental interference—free from all offensive taxation, free as other branches of industry from special imposts—has reached a sphere of universal usefulness never before known, and to restrict that usefulness now by a stamp tax, or impost duty on its production, is to set back progress, and require the people to dispense with one of the most potent agencies for the dissemination of universal intelligence that their wants demanded or ingenuity could produce. A stamp tax on newspapers and other periodicals destroys the power of this agency just in proportion as that tax adds to the cost of the paper thus taxed by curtailing its sale.

The great cheapness of the newspaper press of America has given it its enormous circulation. This unparalleled circulation has given it the very great influence it wields. This influence is caused by the principles inculcated, by the ideas discussed, by the information conveyed, by the vast amount of knowledge laid before the people through its columns. Any special tax or stamp duty laid on the press lessens this influence, retards the spread of intelligence, and injures the whole community.

For example: Either one of our city dailies contains each morning a perfect epitome of the world's history for the previous twenty-four hours. With this history go forth to millions of readers the thoughts, acts, principles, ideas of the world's great minds—beacons that light mankind along the stormy coasts of life. These papers contain enough to make a good-sized volume, and are sold for the very low price of two cents (at most) per copy. This comparatively low price gives them their enormous circulation by placing them within the reach of nearly the entire reading community. Had their price been greater they would never have obtained their present circulation. Their higher-priced predecessors never circulated more hundreds than these now do thousands, and their columns were in their time as satisfactory to their patrons as are the columns of the present dailies to theirs. Nothing but the low price of the latter gave them their circulation, and nothing but the high price of the former caused their limited sale and final discontinuance. Connected with the vast circulation of the cheap press are the interests of all who advertise other branches of trade in their columns. Many manufacturers have derived great benefits from the increased demand caused by their wares being made known to consumers by advertising. Any curtailment of circulation hurts these advertising manufacturers and tradesmen. Any tax or impost duty on newspapers advances the price thereof, and this curtails

circulation. Every person is benefited by a cheap press. Every body is injured by hampering it with onerous taxes.

It is proposed to levy a quarter or half cent per copy on all newspapers published. Now, as I have before stated, the publishers cannot afford to pay either of these sums without increasing the price to the consumer; as we have no coin in circulation of less value than one cent, the price of the paper paying this tax must be advanced one full cent per copy, and this increased price will cause a very great curtailment in their sale; in fact, would kill off three-fourths of all the papers in the Union. An extra cent per copy may seem to be but a small matter to some persons, but it is quite enough to act as an embargo on the sales of newspapers. It is not only this one cent extra on one single paper, but it is multiplied by fifty-two in a year, if on a weekly, and three hundred and twelve times on a daily, a very serious matter to purchasers whose means are limited, and quite sufficient to cause them to "stop the paper" in these hard times.

Let the press be as free as possible. Let it be free from onerous taxation, and left unfettered by special duties to do its just work.

[This bill did not become a law.]

THE LICENSED EXPRESS SYSTEM.

MR. COLFAX'S PLAN.

[The following appeared in the New York daily papers in January, 1862.]

THIS bill makes it unlawful for any person to carry any newspapers over any post-route out of the mails. I object to this as interfering with the purchase and sale of merchandise by restricting the free transportation thereof. Newspapers, magazines and other printed matter are as much articles of merchandise, as are dry goods, groceries, hardware or any other thing that enters into the consumption of the people, and should be subjected to no more hindrances in sale and transportation than they are. It is the duty of government to encourage the production and consumption of home manufactured articles, not to restrict such production; and if revenue be the object, let taxes be laid on the capital invested in and produced by the profits of manufacturing, whether such profits are made from the production of hats, boots, clothing, or newspapers and books. The free and expeditious system of transporting printed matter outside of the mails, now in practice, is one of the most potent agents for the dissemination of knowledge among the people that ever has been devised, and is the result of long experience, prompted by the inability of the mail or post-office system to meet the emergencies of the case. From this system has grown the vast increase in the circulation of daily and weekly papers, magazines, &c., &c., and from this increased sale and circulation has followed a demand for a great amount of labor to produce the presses to print these papers, for the paper on which they are printed, the ink they are printed with, machinery for the manufacture of the paper, for the production of twine, for the use of carts, wagons, &c.; in fact, there is scarcely a branch of industry that has not been affected beneficially by the increased sale and circulation of printed matter outside of the mails; and to interfere with these interests is to cause a great wrong to all concerned, with no benefit to the Department. The true duty of the government is to let the people devise their own modes of transportation of their merchandise, leaving them free, however, to use such facilities as government provides for transporting other matter, without compelling them, under fine and penalty, to use such facilities.

The government claims the right to manage the transportation of the *written correspondence* of the country. This requires certain machinery. Now, if the people choose to send their PRINTED matter through these

channels, under such rules and at such prices as the government makes and demands, they should be left free to do so ; but to compel them to send all their newspapers, magazines, and other periodicals that way, is an interference with the rights of the people that cannot be justified on any ground whatever. If government thus interferes with the transportation of printed matter, it will be reasonable to expect it will next interfere with the transportation of all kinds of merchandise, and then follows a long list of government officials for the enforcement of the rules and collection of the tariffs demanded by the law, and from this restriction in transportation arises an increase of price. This lessens production, and thus all branches of labor are affected, and thus government itself is made the loser by the curtailment of wealth or capital on which to levy taxes. The interest of all, both people and government, is best promoted by leaving the people to take care of their own interests. A single illustration of my position is all I will make at this time, and no one knows its truth better than Mr. Colfax. It is this : The present rates of letter postage, based on weight, has been and is the cause of an unheard-of increase in the manufacture of paper, envelopes, and the thousand branches of trade connected with their production, giving employment to thousands of persons, who, but for this labor, would be seeking work in other branches, to the detriment of other workers. The present system of transporting printed matter outside of the mails has also given labor to thousands of persons, who, but for this, would now be crowding other and overstocked labor markets. The bill proposes the granting of licenses by the Postmaster-General. Now, if there is any one thing more than another that the people of this country detest, it is the license system. It is one of the most despised relics of a bygone system of governmental espionage that always was condemned by every people, and by none more than our own. We have none too great a respect for the necessary and proper officers of the government, such as tax-gatherers, customs officers, and the like, who have no license for special purposes, or for private profit; and when it is proposed to create a most odious monopoly, as this bill does, and then license special persons to make a profit out of that monopoly, the system of license becomes utterly abhorrent, and must beget the most intense hatred of the system, and a determination to evade its requirements. The true theory of government is to have as few laws as possible, and have those such as will command the respect and voluntary obedience of its people; not to burden them with odious enactments that they will be sure to revolt against. No more hated officer could be devised than one having a license to use a monopoly for his own selfish ends, and the license proposed in this bill is one of that class.

Perhaps Mr. Colfax thinks that there would be no profit attached to the license. If there is no profit to and from it, then no one will take it, and no income will accrue to the department by its establishment; and if no one can be found to take it, Mr. C. must do one of two things: Either he will restrict the transportation of printed matter to the mails, or he must appoint some person to superintend its transportation outside, and this involves an increased expenditure by the department. In either case an increased rate of transportation will ensue, which must cripple the sale of papers.

But to come back to the license. Suppose a license to be given or sold to Jones, a news agent, authorizing him to transport printed matter outside the mails between New York city and Boston, or any other points. Suppose, further that Mr. Smith is a wholesale news dealer, residing in New York and has a customer in New Haven, or any other city or village (on the line of Mr. Jones' licensed route), whom he supplies with the same sort of paper that Mr. Jones is licensed to carry. Now, the customer of Mr. Smith must have his papers at the very earliest moment after the train arrives at his place, and if Jones, licensed by the Postmaster-General, can deliver his papers to him three, five, ten, or fifteen minutes sooner outside of the mails than Smith's customer can get them through the mail, then Smith loses his trade, and Jones gets it. In the receipt and sale of newspapers time is everything to the seller, and minutes represent dollars. Again, if Smith, the wholesale dealer, is compelled to send his papers through the mails to his country customers, and Jones is permitted by his license to carry his outside, he can, in nine cases out of ten, deliver the daily papers to his country customers when Smith's customer would get none, *from the fact* that the time that Smith occupies in getting his papers ready for the mail and the time used in getting them to the post-office to be assorted and bagged, and the further time required to transport them from the post-office to the depot or boat for transportation, is just so much time gained by Jones, the licentiate, to get ahead of Smith, who is just as active as Jones, and would never be behind him, but for being compelled to use the mails, while Jones is not.

Let me explain this to those unacquainted with the very peculiar nature of the business which this bill proposes to change. There are in New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Boston, and other cities, large establishments, whose business it is to take daily and other newspapers from the offices of publication, and pack all the different papers that may be taken by a retailer living out of these cities, in one parcel. These parcels are all conveyed together to the place of shipment, and forwarded by express, or by some special person, whose business it is to see to their delivery at destination. Many of these parcels are thrown from the trains while

in motion—that is, thrown off at places where the trains do not stop. Now, it is of daily occurrence that but a few minutes transpire between the time these papers are printed and the departure of the trains or boats—in fact, I have known but half an hour allowed for bringing in some twenty thousand papers, counting them out among some one hundred and fifty different parcels, tying up those parcels, and carting them nearly a mile to the place of shipment.

It is, therefore, easily seen that any hindrance or delay in getting these parcels ready for transportation must seriously affect all concerned, and more especially must that party be injured who is compelled to use the mails, while another party is allowed, under a license, to transport all his papers outside. A monopoly of this kind in the hands of a licentiate will virtually give that party the whole of the business on the line of his route. Perhaps Mr. Colfax may say that the paper must be printed at such hours as suits the departure of the mails. No; Mr. C. will not say that, for he is a publisher, and knows that the publishers of daily papers must, especially in these times, delay going to press till the very latest moment, in order to get the last item of news that is “clicked” over the wires. Perhaps Mr. Colfax will say that his licentiate will be compelled to carry parcels of papers for every person that desires to send. That does not appear in the bill; in fact, the bill, in its spirit, will not allow of any such construction. It prohibits certain things except under license. That license implies certain privileges to be enjoyed by the licentiate. That implies, and in fact is, a monopoly, and that monopoly redounds to the advantage of the licentiate, who, in this case, can force every person to deal with him, or be behind-hand with articles whose only value depends on being up to time. Monopolies of this kind are the most odious and untenable of all. This system will enable an unscrupulous licentiate to refuse to transport whatever he pleases to prohibit. I may be told that the regulations to be established by the Postmaster-General will provide against all this. Then I protest against placing any such authority in his hands, for that office may be filled by an unscrupulous partisan or bigoted sectarian, who could, under this bill, easily favor the periodicals he approved, and retard the distribution of those he disliked. We have already had too much of official tampering with the mails; too much of official and uncontrolled censorship of newspaper transportation in the mails; too much of throwing out or entirely suppressing such papers as did not please the views of the local postmasters; too much interference with the sale and circulation of northern papers in the Southern States. True, these interferences and censorships have been illegal and sectional. Let them continue thus unlawful and sectional, and not attempt to make them lawful and national by vesting any unnecessary authority

in the hands of any one—not even in the hands of a Postmaster-General or his licensed subordinates. The system is bad every way; it has not one redeeming trait to recommend it. Let it be rejected. The only true plan for the Government to adopt in relation to the mails and mail routes is to make them free to be used by all on the same terms, without licenses, and make them as secure from any violation as life itself, leaving the people at liberty to use them if they choose, or seek such other modes for transporting their printed matter as best suits them.

Perhaps Mr. Colfax expects to increase the revenues of the Post-office Department by compelling all printed matter to go in the mails or pay license for going over post routes outside. In this I think he will be mistaken as he must see that those transporting the mails will have to be paid largely increased prices for mail service, as those parties, railroads, steamboats, &c. now derive large incomes from the transportation of this matter outside of the mails, which income would be cut off by this bill, and a greatly increased amount of mail service required of them, which deficiency of income and increase of service must be paid for by the Department. To this increased cost of mail service Mr. Colfax will have to add the cost of labels, stamps, the pay of agents or clerks to see to the whole matter, and the endless string of costly items attending the whole thing, so that when the balance is struck, but little, if anything, would accrue to his revenues—much less than the community would lose by the curtailed business of those interested in the manufacture, distribution and sale of the papers and magazines, and other periodicals Mr. Colfax proposes to tax by this bill. The scheme is not feasible, and should be abandoned. There is no more reason in thus taxing the transportation of newspapers consumed by people living away from the places of their publication, than there is for taxing the carriage of those consumed by people living in those places, and surely Mr. Colfax is not prepared to levy a tax on papers delivered by carriers to people living at or near the place of publication. If revenue is the aim, a better way is to require publishers to pay a stamp duty or tax on every copy they publish, and when that tax or stamp is paid, then leave the buyer and consumer free to transport the paper in any way that best suits them. This plan, objectionable as it is to all our past history, abhorrent as it is to the spirit and genius of our institutions, is far preferable to the prohibitions and licensed monopolies proposed by this bill.

In these times our people desire to know what is going on, and the success of our Government, and stability of our laws, and existence as a nation, are best promoted by disseminating as rapidly, as freely, and as cheaply as possible, all kinds of intelligence among them. The government itself is largely interested in this, more especially when it requires

men or money. A largely circulated paper carries to the people all the requisitions of the government for troops, informs them of its financial needs, and by this universal spread of information, it is enabled to have prompt and speedy responses to its requirements. A crippled press cripples the Government—a universally circulated press helps the Government, by informing the people of its wants. There should be no restrictions placed in the way of the press. Government should do all in its power to extend intelligence. Let this bill be “postponed indefinitely.”

[The bill referred to did not pass Congress.]

HABEAS CORPUS—MARTIAL LAW, ETC.

[Published in the Anti-Slavery Standard, August 2, 1862.]

To the Editor of the New York Times :

It occurs to me, Mr. Editor, that all danger of a conflict between the National and State authorities may be avoided by a declaration and enforcement of Martial Law. While such declaration might be in force, no attempts would be made by county judges to do what honorable and learned judges of the United States Courts would not, in their patriotic wisdom, attempt; or if some notoriety-seeking Justice should be foolish enough to try his powers, he would find a difference between the “say so” of his court and the “do so” of the military authority. A few lessons of this sort would do much toward crushing out Northern sympathy for treason. I am no advocate for National usurpations against State rights. I believe in the rights of the States, and I also believe in the *duty* of the National Government, and one of the most paramount of its duties is the maintenance of its own authority, for on such maintenance depend not only the rights of the States, but also the rights of persons and property. It is not necessary, however, for the Government to declare martial law over the whole State in order to avoid apprehended conflict of authority.

It need only proclaim martial law to be in force over the places and properties belonging to it, or dock-yards, forts, arsenals, &c., &c. In and over these, the authority and jurisdiction of the Government are supreme, except for the service of civil process by the State authorities, or writs of

habeas corpus, &c. The right to serve these in these forts and places was reserved to the State when it ceded the lands and water fronts to the Government; but if the Government, in the exercise of its constitutional authority for the upholding of its laws, declares the existence of martial law in and over the places and grounds belonging to it, and adjacent thereto, then the civil law, and the right of the State to serve its processes therein, is for the time suspended, and no good citizen, either on or off the bench, will attempt to interfere. Let martial law be forthwith declared at Fort Lafayette, and all other places where State prisoners are or may be confined.*

August 17, 1861.

“BARBARITIES OF THE WAR.”

To the Editor of the New York Times:

YOUR remarks under the above head, in Thursday's issue, were very good; but do not, in my opinion, reach the case. You attribute the barbaric atrocities wreaked on our poor soldiers to the Proclamation of Davis and Beauregard. *Incidentally*, this may be true. *Primarily*, it is short of the truth. The cause of these outrages is nothing more nor less than the inherent and natural *barbarism of Slavery*. No slaveholder is or can be civilized. They may be highly educated—many are—but the most refined and intelligent are simply *educated barbarians*—nothing more, nothing less. Slavery is an aggression on the rights of others, founded on force over weakness—the invariable practice of all barbarians—and those who practice Slavery know nothing of civilization and the amenities of that kind of society. Davis and Beauregard merely gave wordy forms, in their Proclamations, to the barbarism of their slaveholding habits, and these Proclamations would have been like seed on dry ground, but for the institution of Slavery existing among and upheld by those to whom these proclamations were addressed. This institution had, by its barbaric tendencies, fitted the ground to receive the terrible seed sown by the rebel leaders in their proclamations. These men are

* At the time this was written, Government officials were repeatedly annoyed by processes issued from courts of limited jurisdiction. Government relieved these officials by the course above indicated.

by nature no worse nor more savage than we of the North, but Slavery has made them barbarians, and compelled them to be what they are. They always will be cruel to their opponents as long as they are unjust enough to be slaveholders. Where there is no Slavery among educated people there will be none of these barbarities. Abolish Slavery, and these men become civilized, and these atrocities will cease and the rebellion be crushed. Slavery is barbarism, and those who practice it are only barbarians, and must be cruel to all who oppose them. Yours, &c.

August, 1861.

NORTHMEN, TAKE COURAGE!

THE world moves. The Star of Freedom is rising higher and higher, to be eclipsed only by the more glorious rays of the Sun of Universal Liberty, whose bright light will soon illuminate our whole political hemisphere. The civilization of Freedom is crushing out the great barbarism of Slavery. The moral atmosphere is being purified by the storms of agitation. As tides keep oceans pure, so do great thoughts and just principles purify the political and social pools of human stagnation, human wrongs. From the far-off shores of the Pacific (significant of peace) come great tornadoes of pure air. From the North, land of snow and ice (emblematic of purity and strength), come great torrents of clear waters. These western winds and northern waters are sweeping down, toward the Gulf, in one grand, sublime current of onward power for good, for Freedom, for civilization.

NORTHMEN, BE HOPEFUL. With your hopes blend watchfulness. Truer to-day than ever before is it that "*eternal vigilance is the price of liberty.*" The homes of Freedom must be guarded by the "watch-fires that never expire." The West, North and Northwest winds and waters have carried traitorous Senators from the "inner chamber;" have borne lukewarm rebel-sympathizing Generals from command; have swept imperious, spying correspondents into prison; have carried contumacious witnesses into congressional lock-ups. Northmen! see that these movements go on. Put the broad shoulders of honest workers to the car-wheels now rolling on to Freedom. Let the hard hands that "break" the strong

greenswards of the Western prairies grow harder in "breaking" the yoke of the bondman. Let the East men and the West men and the North men join hand in hand in rolling on the chariot-wheels of American liberty, till our Flag shall in truth wave over "the land of the free," undimmed by the presence of a single slave. Northmen! be workers, be agitators; be to the moral atmosphere what the winds are to the natural. Let your commotions purify. Discuss, educate, enlighten. Be missionaries of liberty; be apostles of freedom; be the flag-bearers of civilization. Encourage your Congressional representatives in their deeds for freedom; censure them if they falter. Be bold for the right; be cowardly only in wrong. Be strong for justice; be weak only when unjust. Demand justice for all; allow injustice to none. Let your motto be "one freedom, one country, one flag, one people," knowing no distinction but that of merit. Be thankful for the past, trustful of the present, hopeful and watchful for the future; and as you act in this great crisis, so will be your lot in the time that is coming.

[The above was published in the *N. Y. Times* about the time Mr. Bright, a Senator in Congress from the State of Indiana, was expelled from the Senate for sympathy with the great Southern Rebellion of 1861. About the same time two or three very prominent correspondents of New York papers were locked up for prying into government secrets and having too much sympathy with the rebels. It is to these that allusions are made in the above article.] *Winter of 1861—2.*

A PROTEST.

"*Editor Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper:*

"I protest against the spirit of your leader in your issue of last week. That article is calculated to give 'aid and comfort' to the enemies of the Government at home and among the rebels. The order of the Secretary of War, which you denounce so strongly, manifests more of a spirit of determination in the right direction than anything that has been done in Washington for a year. We are blockading the enemy's coasts. For what? To keep out such things as they need: as munitions of war, men, and *information*. The great complaint among loyal men has been, that the Government has been too lax in its efforts to restrain information from reaching the rebels. The present order of non-intercourse will help to

keep back this information, as well as to prevent men from escaping from military duty ; in fact, it will act as an 'internal land blockade.' Heretofore the sympathizers with the rebels could go and come as they chose ; now they can not, and thus a great good will be accomplished. No truly loyal man, desiring to aid the Government and do his duty, will be prevented from going and coming as his business may require. This order will affect none but those whose existence and actions demanded its enforcement. I am glad it has been issued. Suppose you are put to the trouble of getting a passport ? If the system will produce the result intended, you and all other good citizens can well afford to help it on. I am glad that order was issued. I am also pleased with the other order, preventing secession-advocating, rebel-sympathizing, enlistment-retarding brawlers from spouting their treasonable doctrines in the Loyal States. Don't find any more fault with such orders."

August 30, 1862.

GALLOWS CANDIDATES.

[From the New York Ledger, May 24, 1862.]

To the Editor of the New York Ledger :

LOYAL men believe that the leaders of the present diabolical rebellion should be hanged. Justice will be satisfied with nothing less ; nay, she demands more. Justice, in the old mythology, is represented with bandaged eyes. The Justice of our day has her eyes *uncovered*. She sees that the foes of the Union are not all in the ranks of the rebels. She finds our worst enemies in our own camps, in our own high places, and she demands their lives as a partial expiation of the outrageous wickedness perpetrated by the worst scoundrels that ever cursed a country or disgraced humanity. She demands that those wingless human vampires called "CONTRACTORS," who are fattening on a nation's blood, and rioting in the wealth wrung from the very vitals of an afflicted people, should be hanged on a gallows higher than any ever dreamed of by ancient or modern Hamans. Justice demands this at the hands of her officers, and the honest public seconds the demand.

The preservation of the Union required men. Mothers sent forth their sons to "do and die" in its defense ; wives sent their husbands, sisters

their brothers; fathers marched side by side with their "only sons," all animated by the purest motives that ever prompted a human deed. The country poured forth its treasures as freely as the torrents that flow down its mighty streams in spring time. But, with and about these glorious sacrifices, these magnificent treasures, lurked a thousand ghouls, a thousand wehr-wolves ready to pounce on and suck dry the blood of our brave men, and greedily plunder the National Treasury. Men volunteering to fight the battles of the country have been barbarously killed piecemeal by the poisonous food supplied by rapacious contractors. Good men, used to home comforts, ready to lay down their lives in battle, have been maimed by frost, bitten by the cold—aye, *frozen*—actually frozen from lack of the decent clothing for which the Government had paid these ROBBER CONTRACTORS. Are they not "Gallows Candidates?" It makes the brain reel and the nerves tremble, to reflect on these most infernal wrongs, wreaked on our brave men by such Ishmaelites. *Let them be hanged.* Some of those men have by a "commission on purchases" for the Government, made as much money in one day as is paid to a whole regiment of honest men in the ranks, the meanest one of whom is a king to the best of these plundering "brothers-in-law contractors." Congress fixes the pay of the soldier, why not of the contractor? *The soldier fights for the country.* The contractor ROBS for *himself*. *Let him be hanged.* Congress is about to lay a heavy tax on the people. The people are willing to be taxed, but they are not willing to be robbed by swindling contractors, and taxed to pay the robbers. Let Congress lay a heavy hand, yes, a heavy "FIST" on the throats of these money-getting rascals. *Let them be hanged*, no matter if they be "brothers-in-law" of cabinet officers. The higher the position of the offender, the higher ought his gallows to be, and the more prompt his punishment

CENTRAL REPUBLICAN CLUB.

[New York Tribune, August 28, 1861.]

[This organization was the first one in the Union to discuss Emancipation by the national authorities. The discussion continued for several weeks, and excited much attention, both at home and abroad.]

THE Central Republican Club met at room No. 24 Cooper Institute last evening, Dr. Kennedy in the chair. The meeting was largely at-

tended, and the following resolution, introduced by Mr. Tousey, laid over from last week, was considered :

Resolved, That the surest and quickest way to end the rebellion and establish a permanent peace is to declare immediate and unconditional emancipation.

Mr. Tousey said that as Slavery was the cause of the rebellion, of course, if the cause were removed, the effect would cease ; he was therefore in favor of the resolution. If, as the Anti-Emancipationists held, the slaves if set free should prove an idle, shiftless, non-producing class, a field would be open for free labor ; he was therefore in favor of the resolution. Loyalty that had to be bought was not worth having, and the Border States would help us but little, without they adopted our cause heart and soul. The rebels were employing the blacks in their army against us, while we would not allow any of our black population to handle a musket or a spade. It seems only necessary that the President should ask people, without distinction of color, to fight for the Union. He protested against the army receiving fugitives, as such. Secretary Cameron had said that if any of the slaves desired to go back to their masters, why, don't "hinder them." But this was only opening the door for spies. If the people of England—he did not refer to the aristocracy—believed we were fighting for freedom, we should get their sympathy. If the South had the right to hold slaves under the Constitution, that right was now abrogated by her violation of that instrument. For these and other reasons the speaker favored the resolution.

NORTHERN TRAITORS.

To the Editor of the New York Tribune :

SIR—Armed rebellion at the South receives the armed attention of the Government. Unarmed treason at the North should receive the unarmed but none the less summary attention of that same Government. We are in a great rebellion. The existence of our national Government is in imminent danger. Treason has armed hundreds of thousands for its destruction. These armed traitors are all in one section of our country. Another section is in arms for its defense. In this latter section there are hundreds, perhaps thousands, whose political antecedents and desire for

the trade of the rebellious section brought them to sympathize with that section, not daring to subject themselves to the penalties of offended law, or to the bitter contempt of their fellow-citizens, by open and avowed act, against their government, yet being determined to do all they can with personal safety, coward-like, and with diabolical malice, resort to the apparently more safe and just as efficacious mode of aiding the rebellion, by attempts at dividing the North against itself; and hence the traitorous cry of "Hang abolitionists and secessionists together." The odium that should center on and burn deep into the hearts of armed rebels, these peace-preaching Judases try to divide, and place on a great portion of law-abiding, Government-upholding citizens, by demagogue howls and grog-shop-party-catch-words, that appeal to the baser passions and lower prejudices of the lowest of the discontented scum that curses society with its presence. These ever-galvanized corpses of a once great political organization know, from past experience, the power of union and the weakness of disunion, and, fearing that the unity of the North will speedily and thoroughly crush the most infernal rebellion that ever outraged a nation or disgraced mankind, coolly and deliberately set about dividing the people of the North by any and every means within their reach. To divide the North is to weaken the North. To weaken the North is to strengthen the rebellious South. These northern traitors desire to aid the rebellion, and hence their effort to create dissension among us of the loyal North. Any party, or any man, be he a city mayor out of office or a renegade editor in full feather, that attempts, by word or deed, to render any part of the people of the loyal North odious to any other part of that people, is a traitor at heart, and the love of his country is not in him or in that party. Loyal men should shun all such as moral lepers, whose touch brings death, and whose very breath breeds pestilence. Governments should mark them. State and civil authorities should proscribe them. Officers of the law should convict them. Courts should punish them as promoters of disorder. Whosoever is not for the Government is against it. These traitorous dissensionists of the North are not for the Government. They had rather see the Union destroyed than to see it saved, if its salvation caused them the loss of party influence. With these men, party is all; union, government, country, are naught. Hence their attacks on the *personnel* of the administration. They intend to make the present Government of the people odious in the sight of the people, thus weaken it, thus cripple its powers, thus help the rebellion, hoping, in the confusion of divisions thus created among us, to ride into power, and then hastily patch up a speedy and dishonorable peace, at the cost of the loyal States and to the disgrace of the nation.

Peace-preaching, dissension-creating treason, is as dangerous as treason in arms. Beware of it! Strangle it! Treason in this form attacks cabinet ministers while lauding the President. Why? It desires to weaken the Government, and not daring to openly attack the people's chosen head, it covertly stabs the President through the bodies of his recognized advisers. This kind of treason hopes and aims to tie the hands of the Government by false accusations and intolerable abuse of particular members of the National Administration; thus weaken it, and by this hoped-for weakness, aid the rebels. No good citizen will depreciate the efforts of the Government, nor of its authorized officials, in this trying time. When men are talked of for position, it is proper to discuss their merits. While a proposed measure is not yet decided on, discussion is proper, but when men are in place and do their best, and when a plan has been decided on, let discussion end and action begin. The unity of the people of the loyal States is their salvation. Their diversion is their death.

New York, July 12, 1862.

RAILROADS AND BLACKS.

To the Editor of the New York Tribune:

SIR—I must fully indorse all you have said about the mean development of oppression just adopted by the Eighth Avenue Railroad. I will aid you in invoking legislative aid to correct that outrageous abuse just placed on colored people by that soulless company. Go ahead in that good work. I am credibly informed that the Superintendent *is an officer of the regular United States Army, now on quite a lengthy furlough*, drawing pay from the Government for services not rendered, and is now violating the *spirit* if not the letter of the orders of the War Office concerning colored persons. It is shameful that in these times any company should yield to the demands of the mob in the manner that this company has in this case. It is perfectly outrageous to see these poor people compelled to swelter along in the hot sun of a Sunday on their way to church, while drunken whites are allowed to crowd decent people entirely out of the cars. I trust you will continue to show up the complete meanness of these companies.

August 7, 1863.

DEMOCRATIC HOWLINGS.

EVERYBODY not stone blind knows that there is a fixed determination on the part of the leaders of the democratic party to break down the administration and if possible thwart it in its efforts to crush the rebellion. The late charge of Recorder Hoffman is a part of the plan, which, if successfully inaugurated in this city, is to be universally adopted throughout the North. The democratic party is not yet ready to assume a position of forcible or armed opposition to the Federal Government (though it is surely drifting that way), but being bent on destroying the present constitutional authorities, that party is endeavoring by its partisan judges, by its traitorous orators, by its lying presses, to make the national administration odious with the people, and thus influence them to withhold men and money for the prosecution of the war for the Union. Is the disloyalty of the democratic party questioned? That party has learned from the ballot-box during the past ten years that the anti-slavery sentiment of the free States is growing much faster than the pro-slavery sentiment of those States, and that without the votes of their slave-breeding, women-whipping, baby-selling democratic compeers in the now rebellious States, they, the northern democrats, can never again hope to get control of the National Government. Hence their attempts to destroy the present administration by their howlings about "illegal arrests," "violation of personal rights," the "guarantees of the constitution," the "sacredness of the citizen," and so on, *ad nauseam*. The democratic leaders, who drive the party in the North as their southern colleagues drive their slaves, knowing that our people are jealous of their rights, think and intend by these howlings to arouse indignation against the Government, and thus destroy its power, and compel it to end the war on such terms as will suit the democratic rebels of the South—when these northern leaders of the once more united national democracy hope to reinstate themselves in Union offices, and again bow the nation down to that political god of modern democracy, negro slavery. This is the programme, and partisan judges, are but doing the dirty work of secession in making grand jury charges and dinner speeches that serve to render the Government unpopular.—*Tribune*, December, 1862.

THE NEW YORK TIMES ON GOV. ANDREW.

To the Editor of the New York Tribune :

SIR—*The N. Y. Times* pretends to be a loyal paper, yet in its issue of the 14th it manifests the same spirit that conducts the *concession* and other rebel-sympathizing sheets. It inserts Gov. Andrew's order for enrolling the fighting men of his State, and gives that order with an editorial notice that must delight the souls (if they have any), of all King Jeff's subjects.

The Times hates Governor Andrew, and all who, like him, believe in human freedom. It pretends to the contrary; but the most of its articles, that lean either way, lean toward slavery, or toward that line of policy that conserves the "institution." Governor Andrew is a representative man. He is the head of a representative State. His people and himself are full of positive loyalty—not that sort of loyalty that fills the columns of *The Times*, and which is anything by turns and nothing long, except in the length of its "trimming" propensities.

If there is one Governor of the loyal States whom the rebels and their northern sympathizers would like to hang first, that Governor is he of Massachusetts, and *The Times*, true to its instincts of hate to the negro, is encouraging that spirit of hate. It ill becomes any loyal press to try to make Massachusetts or her Governor odious to the people of other States. Her record in this rebellion is too pure; her citizens too patriotic; her Governor too energetic for the right.

The Times will fail to set the Federal Government against the old Commonwealth. It says: "the question of employing blacks in a military capacity is one for the National Government to decide." It forgets (intentionally?) that the Government only represents the people in this, as in all other matters; and when they demand that the blacks shall help to maintain the Government that protects them in person and property, it (the Government) will enforce that demand, and surely there can be no better way to learn the people's wants than by their Governors' action, especially when the people respond to their Governors as they do in Massachusetts.

The Times had no censure for Governor Sprague for the same act (in spirit). Why? Governor S—— is not identified with the anti-slavery idea of the North. Governor A—— is. That is enough to arouse the ire of that paper. It will not do, *Mr. Times*. The great ball is rolling on, and if you do not get out of its way, it will roll over you and all like you.—*N. Y. Tribune*, August 16, 1862.

GENERAL BUTLER'S PAPER TAX.

NEW YORK, April 8, 1864.

Major-General B. F. BUTLER :

SIR—We have been informed that the privilege of selling newspapers and other serial reading in the department under your command is farmed out to one party, and that other dealers are not allowed “free trade” in consequence of said regulation. Will you do us the favor to inform us if this monopolizing regulation is in pursuance of your order, for we are loth to believe that a Massachusetts man, fresh from the land where the Press has, as it were, unrestricted circulation, could place any obstruction in the way of a universal spread of intelligence among the people. A reply will much oblige,

Yours respectfully,

THE AMERICAN NEWS COMPANY,
SINCLAIR TOUSEY, *President*.

HEADQUARTERS EIGHTEENTH ARMY CORPS, }
DEPARTMENT OF VIRGINIA AND NORTH CAROLINA, }
FORTRESS MONROE, April 11, 1864.

SIR—Your note of the 8th of April is received. You have not been correctly informed. The privilege of selling daily and weekly newspapers, not published in my department, has been put exclusively in the hands of one man, Mr. Bond, who pays the United States a certain tax for the privilege, and he is held responsible for the loyal character of the reading furnished the soldiers. By that means I have no difficulty in controlling the circulation of such papers as *The News*, *The World*, *The Catholic Repository*, *Boston Courier*, and other treasonable sheets of a like character. Every one agrees that there ought to be regulations to regulate the sale of poisonous liquors and drugs, which kill the body. How much more ought there to be a regulation of the sale of poisonous and pernicious writings that kill the soul. Mr. Bond pays a portion of the profits to the Government of the United States, and keeps the prices within proper limit. All other periodicals, such as magazines and pam-

phlets, are sold freely through the Department. If you have any complaints to make of his refusing to deal justly and properly for loyal newspapers, I should be happy to receive them and redress them.

I have the honor to be,

Very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

BENJ. F. BUTLER,

Major-Gen. Commanding.

To S. TOWSEY, President American News Co.,
121 Nassau street, New York.

OFFICE OF THE AMERICAN NEWS COMPANY,
121 Nassau street,
New York, April 13, 1865.

Major-General B. F. BUTLER :

SIR—We beg leave to acknowledge the receipt of your favor of the 11th.

Admitting your power to enforce any regulation in your department, that your views of the public interest may dictate, we yet demur to the reason assigned for the regulation referred to, as we can not see how the levying of a tax on certain commodities, gives you any more control over the sale and distribution of such articles, than you possessed before the tax was levied—as the power to lay and collect taxes, carries with it the power to prohibit; in fact you say as much, when you declare that this regulation enables you to exclude certain disloyal sheets.

This mode of restricting the circulation of disloyal papers, cripples the sale of the loyal ones, by enhancing the cost thereof to the consumer, who pays the tax.

You understand this fact in political economy as well as any man in America.

You state that Mr. Bond, in addition to the tax he pays for farm privilege, also pays a share of the profits to the United States.

This, in our opinion, only adds so much more to the cost of the article to the consumer, and therefore, correspondingly restricts the circulation of the very papers that ought to go entirely uncrippled. We refer to those of loyal character. One instance will suffice to illustrate our point, if we are correctly informed. Before this tax was levied, the *New York Ledger* sold in your department for five or six cents; now *ten cents* are demanded for it.

This license does not come out of the pockets of the farmer, Mr. Bond; neither does the share of the profits allotted to the United States.

By the way, General, don't you think that the loyal, moneyed, and producing classes of our people can support the Government, without "taxing" the poor soldier for his newspaper? We incline to that opinion.

You say that there is no license needed to sell magazines and pamphlets; that they "are sold freely through the department." Will you allow us to state, General, that there is as rank treason published in magazines and pamphlets, as in newspapers; and being in more preservable form, has more lasting effect. Such magazines as the *Old Guard*, by C. C. Burr, and the thousands of disloyal, treasonable pamphlets, issued by the copper-heads of this and other cities, work more deadly harm to the soldiers, than many of the semi-secession papers.

Your tax system, you say, does not stop these from circulation in your department; but it does restrict the circulation of those of admitted loyalty. In regard to this particular class of reading matter (that is magazines and pamphlets), there seems to be a misunderstanding between yourself and the custom-house, here; for on applying to the Collector, last week, for permission to send reading matter, we were refused a permit, on the ground, that permits must issue from your department; and in consequence of such ruling here, we lost the sale of a large amount. We ask for correct information on this point, as we have frequent orders from your department for reading matter, other than newspapers. We also ask that this license system on the sale of daily and weekly newspapers be abrogated; that the division of the profits with the Government be abolished, and there be adopted in place of both, an unrestricted system of free trade in all reading matter, that is allowed a sale at all in your department: believing that this course will best conduce to the interest of all concerned—producers, consumers, and the government too.

We do not ask for the circulation of any such works as you may deem improper; but we do ask that all such as you approve of, be left untrammelled with taxes and licenses.

Very respectfully, yours, &c.,

THE AMERICAN NEWS COMPANY,
SINCLAIR TOUSEY, *President*.

P. S.—We inclose a complaint from an old customer, at Portsmouth, to which we beg leave to call your attention.

HEADQUARTERS EIGHTEENTH ARMY CORPS, }
 DEPARTMENT OF VIRGINIA AND NORTH CAROLINA, }

FORTRESS MONROE, April 17, 1864.

SIR—Mr. Bond's privilege for selling newspapers was given him as the highest bidder, but with restriction that he should not raise the price of his periodicals, and he has not done so. You were misinformed upon that point. I have no doubt of the proposition of political economy that the tax upon an article is paid by the consumer, that depends on whether there is free trade in that article so as to bring it down to a living profit by competition. But in this case Mr. Bond sells the papers as cheap as anybody else, but for the exclusive right to sell them pays so much to the United States, and a portion of the profits, which is regulated by his profits. This can be made very plain. Suppose the rate of interest was fixed at seven (7) per cent. by law, and a given bank should pay a large sum of money for the sole privilege of loaning money, which it might well afford to do, would a borrower therefore pay any more than seven per cent. on his loans because by doubling or trebling the business of the bank it made three times the profits, and could afford to pay one-third of the profits for the privilege, and still make a third more?

I shall deal with Mr. Bond very strictly if I know of any attempt of his to enhance his prices beyond those charged elsewhere, because of the sum which he pays for his exclusive privilege of selling.

Your communication is respectfully returned, with reference to the indorsement of Captain Carroll, Provost-Marshal.

In reference to the matter of permission to bring books into this Department, that stands upon the same ground as all other merchandise. This being an insurrectionary district, by trade regulations nothing can be sent into it of any sort for sale without a permit from my headquarters, and this regulation exists all over the revolted States, and these permits are always granted upon application of reputable people.

By an examination of the Treasury Regulations at the Custom-House, you will be able to ascertain the rules about this matter. At least, certain it is that I cannot spend more time in instructing you in the Trade Regulations of the Treasury Department.

I have the honor to be, sir,

Very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

BENJAMIN F. BUTLER,

Major-General Commanding.

TO SINCLAIR TOUSEY, Esq., President American News Co., 121 Nassau street, New York.

NEW YORK, April 26, 1864.

Major-General B. F. BUTLER :

SIR—Absence from the city has prevented an earlier acknowledgment of the receipt of your favor of the 17th.

We do not desire to trespass on your time and patience in discussing what you may consider trivial matters, but there are some points in yours of the above date, that seem to call for, or at least invite, a reply.

You admit that the tax on any article is paid by the consumer, and then go on to justify that admission by stating that "that depends on whether there is free trade in that article, so as to bring it down to a living profit by competition," which you attempt to show is the case in the matter under consideration, by stating that "Mr. Bond sells the papers as cheap as any one else." That is just the point, General. We do not doubt that, but Mr. B. nor any one else can or will sell as cheap with a tax to pay as without one, and that is our cause of complaint. Let us illustrate. Before a tax was levied, and before this exclusive privilege was given, any dealer in your department could send to this city and Philadelphia and Baltimore, and buy the papers wanted, at as low a price as Mr. B. now buys them in those cities; but now, under your exclusive system, none of the dealers buy direct from the producers. Why? Because they cannot sell in your department, except by paying a profit to Mr. B., and that profit must come from the consumer, who buys from the middle-man, that your system obliges to buy from Bond. We note what your Provost-Marshal says on this point, but it is not satisfactory. He says that "Mr. Bond's agent informs him that no increase has been made in the price of papers." We respectfully suggest that an accused party is not always the proper witness as to his own guilt or innocence. If information was sought for beyond this source, as to former and present prices, by asking the newsboys, peddlers, and consumers, and others interested in the matter, more perfect information would be obtained, and here allow us to intimate, very respectfully, that we think you have not given this matter the attention it deserves, nor such as you usually pay to matters coming under your notice.

The subject is one of much importance to the Loyal Press of the country, as well as to the reading people in your department.

You further attempt to show that Mr. B.'s exclusive right causes no increase of prices, by supposing that the borrowers of money would not have to pay more than a fixed rate of interest in case the exclusive right to loan money was confined to one bank, which assumption is based on the fact that the rate of interest is fixed by law. Are we to understand by this that you have fixed the prices of papers, &c., in your depart-

ment? If you have not, the argument does not apply, and if you have thus established prices, then we ask that all persons may have the right to sell at those prices without paying tribute to Mr. Bond.

But a word more on this exclusive right of the one bank to loan money. It is an old and true business adage that "competition benefits trade." Can there be any competition where there is no opposition? If there are two lenders seeking investments for their capital, does not a borrower stand a better chance to get a cheap loan than if there were but one lender? True, neither can get but the legal interest, but if there is more than one, one may take less than the regular rate rather than to have his capital remain idle. Apply this principle to the case under consideration, and you have another reason for removing the restrictions now placed on the sales of papers in your department.

There are several points in our former letter that seemed to us to be worthy a notice by you, but which you have passed by; but there is one point in your letter that we shall not fail to notice, and that is the last sentence, which we think is entirely unworthy of and unbecoming a Major-General of the army of the United States, inasmuch as it is uncalled for and entirely uncivil.

We have endeavored to address you in a civil manner, becoming your position and our own self-respect, and if our letters have failed in their respect, it was accidental not intentional.

We conclude by again asking that the exclusive system of selling papers, as adopted in your department, be abolished, and the right to sell them be free for all, subject to proper regulations as to the character of the publication sold.

Very respectfully, &c.,

SINCLAIR TOUSEY,

PRESIDENT OF THE AMERICAN NEWS COMPANY.

The objectionable restrictions were removed.

CAMPAIGN DOCUMENT—LINCOLN'S SECOND CANVASS.

VOTERS' CATECHISM.—PLAIN QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS FOR THE CAMPAIGN.

Q. Is there a Political Party in our country in arms for the destruction of the Union?

A. Yes. There is such a party.

Q. What party is guilty of this terrible crime?

A. The democratic party that desires George B. McClellan for President.

Q. How is this proven?

A. The democratic party is the only political party that ever existed in the rebellious States. The Republican Union party never had any existence in that section. Had there been such a party there, there would now have been no rebellion, filling our land with grief.

Q. Is the democratic party of the rebellious States the same democratic party that is working for McClellan's election?

A. Yes. The same. The democratic party at the South desires the perpetuity of slavery over the entire continent, and the establishment of an aristocracy that shall rule the people, and the democratic party of the North desires the same thing. The democrats South and the democrats North both did all in their power to keep the present government of the Union out of authority, and democrats both South and North are to-day doing all they can to destroy that government. The southern democrats by force of arms, the northern democrats by dissension.

Q. Does McClellan favor such actions?

A. Yes. His friends are now working as strongly to break down the present government of the Union as they worked to keep it out of office.

Q. What effect on the rebellion would McClellan's election have?

A. Better for the rebels than a new army of one hundred thousand men well equipped.

Q. How does this appear?

A. First, because the party that supports McClellan is in favor of giving the rebels all they ask, and would do all in their power to this end; and, second, because the rebels would hail such election as an evidence that the loyal States were divided in sentiment, knowing that

such dissensions would weaken us, and thereby make it easier for them to overthrow the government and conquer a peace from us to their advantage and our ruin.

Q Where are the prominent men whom McClellan's friends supported in the last presidential election?

A. Many of them are in arms for the destruction of the Union—armed rebels, as Breckenridge and company.

Q. Have McClellan's supporters condemned such treason in their friends?

A. No. The Chicago Democratic Convention blamed the people of the loyal States for not yielding all that the rebellious South demanded; that is, for not giving the traitors of the South the perpetual control of the government. They said not one word against the rebels.

Q. What is the inference to be drawn from McClellan's former political association with southern democrats (such as Davis, Beauregard, Twiggs, Benjamin, &c., now in arms against the Union), and his acceptance of the nomination by the democratic party of the North?

A. There can be no inference but this, viz.: that he and they are in hearty sympathy with the rebels, and would prefer to have them succeed in their wicked designs rather than that the Union should be saved by the present government, whose continuance in office he and they so bitterly oppose.

Q. Who censures the government for its efforts to defend itself against armed treason?

A. McClellan's friends and partisans.

Q. What is to be inferred from such unpatriotic conduct on their part?

A. Plainly that they, McClellan and his supporters, sympathize with the rebels, and think they ought not to be hurt in person or property.

Q. Who calls this wicked rebellion merely a bit of "irregular opposition?"

A. McClellan's supporters, in fact all the leaders of the northern "PIECE" Democracy.

Q. Who advocates McClellan's election?

A. Every man in sympathy with Jeff. Davis, every man that believes in slavery—every man who would repudiate the national debt—every man that justifies the barbarous treatment the rebels have bestowed on our wounded men and prisoners, in fact, all who favor Rebellion and oppose the government of the Union.

Q. Has a single rebel newspaper, or a single rebel leader, or a single rebel sympathizer, said one word in favor of Lincoln?

A. Not one. They all hate him with a never-dying hate.

Q. What does this prove ?

A. That they know no favors can be expected from him. That he is in favor of crushing out their unholy rebellion, and of coercing them into submission to the laws of the Union, as Old Hickory would have done.

Q. Have any of the rebel papers or leaders, or their sympathizers, said one word against the friends of McClellan ?

A. Not one word. Their SOLDIERS SHOUTED AT HIS NOMINATION.

Q. What does this show ?

A. Simply that they (the rebels) look on the northern Peace Democracy as old and well-tried friends, whom they can rely on in time of need.

Q. What papers and orators are now advocating the cause of McClellan ?

A. The same that have always sided with the rebel States ; the same that think treason should go unpunished ; that traitors are as good as loyal men.

Q. What does that show ?

A. That these papers and orators consider McClellan to be the best man for the rebels ; that his election will aid the rebellion.

Q. What party was in power at Washington when the rebellion began in South Carolina ?

A. The democratic party, of which McClellan was and is a leading member.

Q. Did that party do anything to put down the rebellion in its early stages ?

A. No. The leaders of that party did all they could to give it strength.

Q. How is this made clear ?

A. The democratic party had control of all the arms and other material of war belonging to the United States, and they sent nearly all to the South for the purpose of strengthening the South and weakening the North.

Q. Has the democratic party, as a party, given any evidence, since that time, that they regretted such strengthening of the South ?

A. None whatever.

Q. What are the natural inferences to be drawn from such acts ?

A. Nothing, but that they think the rebellious States ought to have been armed for the destruction of the Union, and they doubtless think so still, or they would censure those States for their wicked acts.

Q. Has any prominent democrat gone from the North to the South since the rebellion began, and taken up arms against the Union ?

A. Yes, many. Two democratic office holders from this city, Lovell and Smith, also Colonel Dunham, from Brooklyn. One has been defeated by the Union troops at Corinth, fighting against the old flag.

Q. Did the democratic party condemn the treason of Lovell, Smith and Dunham?

A. Never, so far as has been made public.

Q. What is the reason for their silence?

A. Plainly, that they think they did right.

Q. Can that party be trusted with the management of public affairs in this terrible crisis?

A. No, certainly not. That party would patch up a disgraceful peace with the rebels by giving them all they demand, and compel us of the loyal States to pay all the expense the South has incurred during the rebellion.

Q. Which is the party, and who is the man to be in authority in these trying times?

A. The Republican Union party and Abraham Lincoln.

Q. Why should this party and this man be preferred to the democratic party and McClellan?

A. Because the former are in favor of obedience to the laws, in favor of upholding the Constitution, of preserving the Union, and of crushing out the rebellion, while the others are in favor of slavery, in favor of secession, in favor of rebellion, in sympathy with treason, and recreant to the genius of our free institutions, and, therefore, they are not to be trusted.

Q. Is the McClellan "PIECE" Democracy in favor of fraud and robbery?

A. Yes, judged by their newspapers and speakers.

Q. What is the proof of this?

A. When the rebel cruiser "Tallahassee" decoyed an emigrant ship with the "old flag," and robbed the poor emigrants of their luggage, the northern democratic papers and leading men spoke of the act as "smart" and "justifiable."

Q. Is the McClellan democratic party in favor of an American moneyed aristocracy, that desires to keep the poor emigrant from finding a home in America?

A. Yes. Mayor Gunther (a McClellan pro-slavery democrat) of New York, whose father came here a poor German, the treasurer of the "McClellan Minute-Men's Association," uses his official position against emigration to America.

Q. Is the McClellan slave-holding democracy really an aristocratic party, opposed to political equality among men, including even white citizens?

A. It is thus aristocratic, as proved by its opposing, IN EVERY INSTANCE, the proposition advocated by the Union Lincoln party, to allow the common soldier and sailor the right to vote while in service. The McClellan Peace Democracy would let the officers of the army and navy go home to vote, but would not allow the honest private soldier, who could not go home, the right to vote in camp. It also opposed, by the vote of its Congressmen, the giving to soldiers the confiscated lands of southern rebels. The Union party passed that bill in spite of Democratic votes. The Democratic party is an ARISTOCRATIC SLAVERY PARTY.

Q. Is the McClellan Peace Democracy a cowardly party?

A. Yes. They are advocating an armistice, while the rebels are in arms, for the destruction of the Union, and when they are about used up.

Q. What would follow an armistice?

A. The Union armies would have to leave the rebel States, and give up all that our brave soldiers have so dearly won, and thus give back to the slave-driving rebels all the forts, arsenals, &c., that they originally stole, and which we have wrested from them by northern pluck, founded on LAW, LIBERTY and JUSTICE. No WHITE FEATHER policy in front of an almost subdued rebellion.

Q. Is the McClellan Slave-breeding Peace Democracy in favor of dissolving the Union under any circumstances?

A. Yes. Their papers, like the New York World, Express, Albany Argus, and others; their speakers, such as Fernando Wood, James Brooks, Burr, Seymour, Vallandigham, Pendleton and company, advocate cutting off the New England States, then to form a confederacy of the North-western States, and then add the Middle States to the present rebellious States, and guarantee, on the part of the two last, the return of all fugitive slaves, and the rights of the slaveholders to carry with them and keep their slaves wherever they may go. This must not be allowed. THERE MUST BE BUT ONE nation on this northern part of the American continent, and that must be of a FREE PEOPLE.

Q. What is the only proper mode to prevent the robbing of poor emigrants on shipboard, after decoying them by the old flag?

A. By voting for Lincoln and the UNION PARTY.

Q. How shall we restore the OLD UNION, and keep it ONE and UNDIVIDED?

A. By voting for Lincoln and the Union party.

Q. How shall we break up the aristocratic designs of the party that opposes the right of poor emigrants to come to this country?

A. By voting for the party that aids the poor emigrant in getting to this country, the party that advocates FREEDOM, of which those working poor men, LINCOLN and JOHNSON, are the candidates.

The McClellan Pro-slavery, Democratic, Peace at Any Price Party must not be allowed to divide the Union, to perpetuate and extend human slavery, to prevent the poor emigrant from finding a home in this land of Liberty.

To prevent these wrongs, to avert these crimes against LIBERTY, against JUSTICE and equality, we must vote for LINCOLN AND JOHNSON, STAND BY THE GOVERNMENT, AND VOTE FOR FREEDOM in the person of HONEST OLD ABE!

UNION LEAGUE ASSOCIATION.

THE following resolutions, introduced by Mr. Tousey, were unanimously adopted by the County Council Union League of the City and county of New York, on the evening of April 18, 1865 :

Whereas, Viewing as we do the recent appalling events by which the head of a Nation has been struck down, and the life of our Secretary of State imperiled, as the legitimate culmination of that barbarism which for a generation has illustrated the infernal malignity of Slavery, in the martyrdom of a Lovejoy, and a Cilley, in the attempted murder of a Sumner, in the cruelties inflicted on Union prisoners, in the butcheries of black soldiers, and in the greater, broader, and more dreadful crime of attempted National destruction, therefore be it

Resolved, That so long as life remains we will, as a body of loyal men and as individuals, do all in our power to remove, root out, extirpate, and forever banish from human society, every vestige of this GREATEST OF ALL BARBARISMS, and that we will not in any way or manner excuse, extenuate, mollify or palliate any of its characteristics but that we will do all that becomes men to make it ABHORRED AND HATED as a thing accursed of God and utterly condemned by man.

Resolved, That notwithstanding the striking down of the HEAD of the nation in the full meridian of his great usefulness, the HEART of the nation still lives in the breasts of twenty millions of free people, to perpetuate and perfect the great idea of universal Liberty, which he so fully and grandly inaugurated.

Resolved, That we mingle our tears with the grief-stricken masses of

our countrymen in this hour of our nation's sorrow, and especially do we ask the sacred privilege of mourning with the bereaved family, to whom we tender our heartfelt condolence.

Resolved, That we fervently trust that it may please the Almighty Ruler to preserve the life of the Secretary of State, to whom and to whose family we offer the sympathies of sincere men.

Resolved, That our faith in the form of Government under which it has pleased God to cast our lot, is more firmly fixed than ever.

Resolved, That we pledge to the Administration of the new President the same support and reliance which we gave to and had in that of his immediate predecessor.

Resolved, That this County Council recommend to the subordinate Councils within its jurisdiction the propriety of draping their rooms in an appropriate manner, and that each member thereof wear the usual badge of mourning for thirty days.

MEETING IN THE NINTH WARD.

[From the Tribune, April 23, 1865.]

A meeting of the men and women of the Ninth Ward was held last evening at Bleecker Buildings, to mingle their grief with the all-pervading grief which fills the land, and express their abhorrence of the horrid deed which plunged a nation into mourning. A large number attended, particularly of the fairer sex. The room was decorated with the sad emblematic colors of affliction. At the back of the platform were portraits of the fallen martyr, with the ever memorable words full of devout reverence of his Springfield farewell address inscribed beneath. The following resolutions, offered by the author of this pamphlet, were adopted:

Whereas, The men and women of the Ninth Ward of the city of New York, here assembled, with their minds deeply impressed by the awful crime that has plunged a people in woe, by the terrible murder of the head of the nation, by the attempted additional butchery of the Secretary of State, cannot refrain from mingling their tears with their countrymen: cannot refrain from giving vent to the feelings of grief that have draped

a nation in the habiliments of mourning, and thus to express, in this feeble manner, their profound sense of the dreadful crisis through which we are now passing; therefore be it

Resolved, That, though grief has struck us down, we are not despondent; that, though we mourn, we will not refuse to be comforted; that the star of hope that always lights the horizon of a trusting people, we believe, still shines for us.

Resolved, That we utterly and completely condemn and abhor the crime we now mourn; that we invoke the restless spirit of Eternal Justice to bring the red-handed assassins before the lawful tribunals of an outraged and indignant nation, there to meet the punishment due their unheard-of crimes.

Resolved, That in this last great horror we have a fitting climax to the continued horrors of the diabolical spirit of secession, slavery, and the utter disregard and abnegation of all humanities that have characterized the rebellion, from the striking down of the nation's symbol upon the walls of Sumter, to the striking down of the nation's head, in the discharge of his great duties.

Resolved, That the spirit manifested in the long catalogue of barbarous practices, for the past four years, by those aiming to destroy the nation, evokes and shall receive our most hearty and thorough condemnation: that we execrate and loathe it and its aiders, abettors, sympathizers, and apologists, and we hope and trust that it and they may speedily and forever pass away from among mankind.

Resolved, That the trial through which this nation is now successfully passing furnishes another and more convincing proof of the strength and durability of our form of government—another and more convincing evidence of the self-reliance that a great nation has in itself, and that, in the case of us Americans, the voice of the people is but the voice of God.

Resolved, That we tender the sympathy of sorrowing hearts to the bereaved family of our late President, whose virtues endeared him to the millions of his countrymen, and which "plead like angels, trumpet-tongued, against the deep damnation of his taking off."

Resolved, That we sincerely trust that it may be in accordance with the will of our Great Ruler to restore the Secretary of State to the sphere of his usefulness.

Resolved, That, to the new President who so suddenly has been called to as great a trust as ever rested on human shoulders, we pledge our support in his efforts to crush rebellion, punish treason, and restore our country to the blessings of prosperous and permanent peace.

DEATH AND BURIAL OF PRESIDENT LINCOLN.

WAS IT EVER PARALLELED?

[From the Tribune, May 17, 1865.]

To the Editor of the New York Tribune:

SIR—The year we are now passing through, this EIGHTEEN HUNDRED AND SIXTY-FIVE, stands out in grand relief from all its predecessors—a Star of the first magnitude in Time's constellation.

It has seen the end of the imperious Slaveholder's Rebellion.

It has witnessed the end of American Slavery.

Its earliest flowers yet cover the bier of a nation's murdered Hero.

The sun and showers of its young months freshened the green grass over the martyr's grave.

Its Spring-time witnessed the grandest funeral pageant that ever honored the dead or graced the living.

It has seen a nation, thirty millions strong, drop scalding tears of sorrow on the tomb of their slain Chief.

It has seen his murderer's dishonored corpse deposited in an unknown place, ere the victim reached his grave.

It has seen a procession of grief-stricken mourners two thousand miles in length.

It has seen the Great Dead carried to his home by a Nation, in whose funeral train cities were pall-bearers, military chieftains were corpse-watchers, high civic functionaries guardians of his Bier, great States chief mourners, millions of uncovered heads bowed in tearful grief, as the mighty cortège wound its solemn march under the sun-light of day and the torch-light of night, from the scene of active duty, to the quiet rest of an honest man's grave.

It has seen millions of a down-trodden race lifted to the dignities and responsibilities of humanity.

It has seen those millions bowed down, and their heads bent with grief, sorrowing as children at a father's grave.

It has seen villages clothed in mourning; towns draped in Death's insignia; great Cities suspend their traffic; the busy marts of commerce hushed with awe, while the silence of living death covered the Republic.

Fit expressions of grief for a martyr.!

It has seen the dwellings of the rich covered with costly badges of woe; and the homes of the poor draped in the more simple and eloquent symbols of a People's sorrow.

It is hearing holy ministers of Christ's Gospel speak words of peace for the murdered Dead, and of comforting condolence for the living.

It is hearing the heart prayers of sincere millions for the rest of the departed, and that his death might not leave the nation in the utter darkness of desolation.

It is hearing a nation of mourners chant solemn dirges in accord with organ peals and thunder of artillery, over the passing body of the nation's martyr.

If universal sorrow for the dead be any proof of civilization, then did Sixty-five witness a greater and more perfect civilization than any other child of Father Time.

As the days of Sixty-five rolled into weeks, and the weeks wheeled into months, the meridian of the year saw the people of other lands meet in sorrow for the stricken nation; heard their grief utterances, saw their ANOINTED RULERS bow their heads in the awe of heartfelt sympathy, and for once a child of Time saw

"A world in tears."

SIXTY-FIVE has seen in the mourned one the incarnation of Freedom-Loving people; the impersonation of the capabilities and possibilities of Institutions based on the voice of man echoing the voice of God, in the recognition of human rights and manly duties; the Emancipator of a Race, and the Conservator of their Liberties.

It saw in the "deep damnation of his taking off" the possibilities and capabilities of the barbaric system which the GREAT MARTYR had, with a pen mightier than conqueror's sword, condemned to utter destruction.

It saw the world old conflict between Liberty and Slavery end in favor of Liberty regulated by Law; of Justice founded on Humanity; of Civilization based on Right.

Was it ever paralleled?

THE UNION LEAGUE CLUB ON SUFFRAGE AT THE SOUTH.

[From the Evening Post, June 15, 1865.]

At the last regular monthly meeting of the Union League Club, the following resolutions were offered by Mr. Sinclair Tousey, and adopted, only one member voting in the negative :

Resolved, That the Union League Club of the city of New York invokes the influence of the National Government in the establishment of a system of suffrage in the rebellious States, which shall be equal and just to all, without distinction of color.

Resolved, That a copy of the above resolution, signed by the President and Secretary of the club, be transmitted to the President of the United States and to each member of the Cabinet.

SECRETARY STANTON AND MONTGOMERY BLAIR.

To the Editor of the New York Times :

I am a Unionist. I believe in the old flag, and respect all who try to give it strength or add to its glory. I despise traitors, and hate their apologists. I can brook the insolence of Copperheads, and other political opponents, but I cannot be patient under the attacks of nominal Unionists and pretending loyalists, on the active working men of the Government; such attacks as it pleases Mr. Montgomery Blair to make on Secretary Stanton and his colleagues of the State Department.

I am no personal friend of Mr. Stanton, never saw him, and never had aught to do with him; and am, therefore, under no obligations to praise him; but I do think that if there is any single man in this nation to whom the country is as much indebted as to any other man—aye, I go farther, and say that if there is any one man to whom the country is

more indebted for its present peace than to any other man in it, that man is the present Secretary of War ; and it cuts me to the very quick to hear such men as the Ex-Postmaster-General stooping so low as to attack an official whose very position effectually shuts his mouth from a defensive reply.

Suppose Mr. STANTON has made mistakes? If he had made none, he would have been more than human ; and as this is a human government, humanity can forgive mistakes of judgment. No loyal Union man to-day doubts the Secretary's intentions, and as motives are as much to be judged as results, let him go uncondemned even if his intentions were not always crowned with successful results. But, let it not be forgotten, by Mr. BLAIR and those who follow his lead, that in the one great, grand and paramount intention of Mr. STANTON, the result was successful—and that was, his fixed and unalterable purpose to have the old flag again wave over an unbroken Union ; and that intention, echoed and reëchoed by the people, and supported by strong arms and stronger hearts, has been, thank God, crowned with success.

Tried by this standard, the Secretary is blameless, even before Mr. BLAIR. I venture to predict that if the (now) secret history of the War Department, under Mr. STANTON's administration, should ever be published, the country will be struck with admiration for the man whom it is now so popular, in certain circles, to abuse.

I am inclined to think that the country does not properly appreciate the value of Mr. STANTON's energetic services on the day of Mr. LINCOLN's death.

At that moment the people were paralyzed with horror. Every man, every woman, yea, the very children, stood aghast with terror. Chaos seemed to be coming up from the abyss of treason. Disorder loomed in the near distance. Incipient revolution opened its assassin eyes on the capital. The oldest and most experienced member of the Government lay at death's door. Fear seemed to stupefy all. At this terrible juncture, when minutes were as years, and hours as centuries, the War Secretary seemed to rise as a giant, and by his cool, clear and energetic conduct, the new President had, *within five hours of the death of his great predecessor, been sworn into office and assumed the duties of the great place.* That day's work should entitle Mr. STANTON to the nation's gratitude. The future historian will know the Secretary long after his calumniators have passed into oblivion.

New York Times, September 8, 1865.

THE COLORED MEN AND THE FENIANS.

[From the Tribune.]

A large and influential meeting of colored men was held in the Masonic Hall, West Sixteenth street, on the evening of June 6, 1866. Elias B. Conover was appointed Chairman, and John D. Bagwell, Secretary.

The Chairman stated the object of the meeting to be an expression of the opinions of the colored men of this city in regard to their taking part in the Fenian movement. A committee was appointed to prepare resolutions for the consideration of the meeting. The following were submitted and unanimously adopted :

Whereas, It has been reported in the papers of the day, that delegations of colored men had offered their services to the leaders of the Fenian movement, and

Whereas, Such reports tend to convey the idea that the colored men of New York are in favor of the said Fenian movement, and

Whereas, The reverse is the fact, therefore be it

Resolved, That the colored men of New York are now, as they ever have been in the past, law-abiding citizens, and that in the future as in the past they will be found on the side of law and order.

Resolved, That the people of Ireland, and all other nationalities that are struggling for the elevation of the masses, for the equality of all men and classes of men before the law, for the spread of those great and grand principles of human brotherhood which underlie a true civilization, deserve and have our most hearty sympathy, and that we will, in all proper and lawful ways, aid such movements.

Resolved, That we believe that the American Government is capable of settling its differences with England, or any other Power, as becomes a nation, without resorting to the unbecoming method of allowing dissatisfied persons in its territory to pass over the borders of a friendly Power for the purpose of levying war against that Power.

Resolved, That our faith in the people and Government of the United States, in their love of right and their determination to enforce equal and exact justice for all men within their jurisdiction, is so abiding that we will not allow ourselves to be drawn into any act or word that shall tend to lower us in the estimation of the people, or embarrass the Government in keeping faith with its neighbors.

(The above resolutions were, by request, prepared by the author of this pamphlet.

MEETING OF THE REPUBLICAN GENERAL COMMITTEE.

A meeting of the Republican General Committee, was held at No. 600 Broadway. The following, offered by Mr. Tousey, was unanimously adopted :

The Union Republican General Committee of the City and county of New York, in congratulating the Union Republican Party of the country, and especially of our own State, on the glorious results of the recent elections, take this occasion to

Declare that our faith in the great principles of justice on which our party so bravely fought, and so nobly won the late political victories, is as firm, and our zeal as ardent as when armed treason in the field, aided by unarmed sympathy at home, endeavored to destroy those principles through the life of the nation.

We further declare that the recent elections, rolling up as they did majorities by the hundreds of thousands in favor of the party that preserved the national existence, afford the most convincing proof of the soundness of our principles and of our capacity for self-government, and proclaim to ambitious demagogues and usurping Executives that in our country "the people rule."

We further declare, that our faith in the wisdom and patriotism of Congress is a living, abiding faith, "justified by works," and in tendering that body our sincere thanks for the past, we pledge it our earnest support in the future.

We further declare, that to Congress alone, as the representative of the people, belongs, and in that body only rests, the authority to define what shall be done in order to restore any State or portion of our people to its proper relations to the National Government; and that in requiring "security for the future," Congress does no more than sound policy and prudence require.

We further declare that Congress, in passing the District Suffrage Bill, gives evidence of its intention, so far as it has the right, to make all men equal before the law; and that, in the future, men are to be treated as men, regardless of race or color.

MEETING OF THE SEVENTH ASSEMBLY DISTRICT UNION ASSOCIATION.

A meeting of the Seventh Assembly District Union Association was held last evening at Metropolitan Hall, Sixth Avenue, Mr. Salem T. Russell presided. The Secretary, Mr. Charles W. Gardner, read the minutes of last meeting, which were approved.

After the transaction of some business of minor importance, Mr. Adams offered the following resolution :

Resolved, That it is the sense of the Seventh Assembly District Union Association that the prudence, wisdom, and patriotism of both Houses of Congress, on the subject of the reconstruction of the Union, merit and meet our hearty approbation, and have, as we believe, the approval of the great mass of the loyal American people of the North and South.

Mr. Tousey moved the adoption of the resolution.

Mr. Carpenter offered, as an amendment, to insert, after "Congress," the words, "and of the President."

Mr. Adams refused to accept it as an amendment. [Applause.]

Mr. Carpenter then offered it as an additional resolution, which was seconded.

Mr. Tousey : When we say the two Houses of Congress, we mean the majority, of course. It may be, perhaps, a bold proposition for a humble individual to oppose a proposition announcing that the American people have faith in the "prudence, wisdom, and patriotism" of the President. But I take that position here to-night. I do not doubt that his motives are good, but I do most positively deny that his course for the last ninety days has evinced either prudence or wisdom in the great questions involved in the reconstruction of the late rebel States. If a resolution of faith in his "patriotism" had been introduced, I would not dissent, but when gentlemen undertake to say that the American people have faith in his "prudence and wisdom," then they give rise to discussion, because the American people to-night are divided wide apart as the east from the west on that point. When the President so far forgets the place he is in as to express an opinion, and promulgate it by all the facilities that lightning and steam can give him, of a measure pending before the two Houses of Congress, when it has passed one branch

of that body ; when he so far forgets the proprieties of his office as to express his opinion in opposition to the opinions of the majority of the people that passed the bill, then does he give reason to the people of the United States to doubt his "prudence and wisdom." That is one reason. When the President so far forgets the amenities of political courtesy as to, on a National anniversary, harangue a mob—we will say his fellow-citizens—in front of the Executive Mansion, and in that harangue accuse a large, influential, and respectable majority of Congress, he gives the people of the United States reason to doubt his "wisdom and prudence." That is number two. When the President, in a crisis like the present one, says that the representatives of the Southern States ought to be admitted, at a time when Congress is doing all it can do to know whether they are fit to come back, then he gives the people reason to doubt his "wisdom and prudence." That is the third reason. When the President so far forgets the courtesy due to either branch of Congress as to refuse, after a demand is made on him three different times by resolution, to furnish that body with information ; when he so far forgets his duties as to deny the courtesy of even a reply, then he gives the people reason to doubt his "wisdom and prudence." That is reason number four. And when he continues to do this over and over again, it is a good and sufficient reason that a resolution of this kind, opposing the course of President Johnson, as proposed by Mr. Carpenter, should not be passed by an assembly like this, and for these reasons I oppose it.

Tribune, March 17, 1866.

A CONSTITUENT TO A REPRESENTATIVE.

Hon. HENRY J. RAYMOND, M. C. :

SIR—As a public man your acts are subject to criticism. You admit this by publishing in the paper of which you are the responsible editor, numerous praises of your Congressional acts. I propose a criticism of censure, and ask that my censure may have as wide a dissemination as did the praise of your admirers. *I disapprove of your Congressional career.* I do not mean that ALL you have done in Congress merits my condemnation, but I do mean that you have done more to call for my censure than for my praise. Hence I use the term "career."

My first charge against you is, that you have not attended to the business that you were sent to do.

You undertook to be our agent in Congress, and do for us the work we, as a mass, could not do for ourselves. You have neglected a very large part of this work, thus showing yourself an unfaithful representative.

Specifications:—

Between the fourth day of December and the seventh of April, the roll was called one hundred and twenty-eight times. On *thirty-five of these calls, or more than one-quarter of the whole, you FAILED TO VOTE*, notwithstanding the fact that some of the motions on which you neglected to vote involved questions and principles of the most paramount importance to the nation, and to the perpetuity of our institutions.

Shall I remind you of some of these propositions on which you neglected to attend to your duty?

December thirteenth, you did *not* vote on referring Mr. Farnsworth's resolution in regard to the equality of Civil Rights.

You should have voted on an important matter like this. I do not like to have an agent neglect any duty.

The next day you did *not* vote on a resolution declaring treason to be a crime. Was not this matter worth your attention? On the same day you neglected to vote on a motion to table Mr. Wilson's resolution, referring all papers relative to representation in the late rebellious States to the Joint Committee.

I will presently remind you how you did vote on the main question in regard to this resolution, and what company you were in when voting.

On the eighteenth of December you did *not* vote on a motion tabling Mr. Baker's resolution in regard to Class Rule, &c., &c.

On the next day you did *not* vote on motion ordering the engrossment and third reading of the bill relating to *Inter-State* communication. Is not the intercourse between, and commercial facilities of, the States worth your notice?

It seems to me that a Representative of the commercial metropolis of the nation ought to take interest enough in such matters to be in his place and vote.

January thirty-first, you did *not* vote on Mr. Schenck's substitute for the Joint Committee's resolution amending the Constitution in regard to the basis of Congressional representation.

By and by I will remind you how you did vote on the Committee's resolution, above referred to.

On the ninth of February, you failed to vote on three distinct motions, concerning the *Naval Appropriation Bill*. Is the navy not worth your attention?

On the thirteenth of February you did not vote on motion to give Mr. Johnson, of Arkansas, a seat on the floor of the House. You should have voted on that motion.

On the twenty-first of February, you did *not* vote on resolution in regard to admitting Representatives from Rebel States before Congress shall have declared said States entitled to such representation.

Was that great question unworthy of a vote of a member from the Empire State? Did you suppose your constituents felt no interest in that question?

On the twenty-third, you did *not* vote on the claim of Mr. Voorhees to a seat in the House. Did your expectations or desire, that he would vote with you on great questions against your party, prompt your non-response at roll-call? I hope not, but as you did, on the same day, *neglect to vote* on Mr. Washburn's right to the seat occupied by Voorhees, suspicious men might think that you favored Voorhees, and hence did not then vote against him.

On the twenty-sixth, you did *not* vote on Mr. McClurg's resolution as to the condition of the people of the Rebel States, with a view to taxation, protection, &c. Was this matter too unimportant for your attention? Don't you care about taxation or protection? Your constituents care for both.

On the same day you *neglected* to vote on a Constitutional amendment. Don't you care for the provisions of the national charter? Are you uninterested in its character? Your constituents take great interest in that instrument, and they desire their Representative to scan all proposed changes in it.

On the same day you did *not* vote on Mr. Banks's motion in regard to the Paris Exposition. Did you take no interest in that matter at that time? The great city from which you were sent was certainly entitled to your presence and vote on a matter of that kind. You do not attend to business.

On the twenty-eighth, you failed to vote on motion in regard to a Constitutional amendment, giving Congress power to pass laws securing to the citizens of each State all the rights and immunities of citizens of the several States, including protection to life, liberty, and property. Are these matters unworthy of your vote? Were you sent to Congress to neglect such things? I did not vote for you with any such idea; in giving you my vote I did not expect that you would in every particular vote to please me, but I did think and hope that you would not neglect any important duty. I am disappointed in this as in other parts of your Congressional course.

On the fifth of March, you did *not* vote on Mr. Miller's proposition concerning United States Bonds. Are the Government securities too small a matter for your attention? On the same day you failed to vote on certain amendments to the Military Academy bill. Don't you care anything about West Point?

On the next day you repeated this neglect of duty on other amendments to the same bill. On the twelfth, you did *not* vote with the great bulk of the Union party to instruct the Library Committee to procure a portrait of *Joshua R. Giddings*.

I could not expect your vote for any such "Radical" measure as that, but I should have more respect for you if you had attended to your business, and, if you could not say "aye," have said "nay."

I admire an attentive agent.

On the same day you did *not* vote on referring to Committee of Ways and Means a proposition to tax U. S. notes and securities. Have you no holders of these securities among your constituents?

Does the great city you in part represent, or rather that employs you as one of its Representatives, have no interest in those securities? More neglect of duty.

On the same day you *neglected* to vote on a bill to regulate trade with the British North American provinces.

On the same day you did *not* vote on motion to print reports from the Reconstruction Committee. The people desired to hear from that Committee; you should have been on hand and voted on such a motion. Just look at yourself in this mirror. Here, on one day, are several questions of the most vital importance to the whole country, and especially to the city you are from, great questions of finance, trade, and other important matters, on none of which did you vote. Am I not justified in telling you that you have not attended to your business? Perhaps others of your constituents may help to answer my question. March thirteenth, you did *not* vote on the *Civil Rights Bill*—a bill of more importance to this people and to mankind than any on which you can ever again be permitted to vote. A measure demanded by necessity on the one side, and good faith on the other; a measure that the great State you are from desired, and which your own constituents wanted. On the passage of this great bill you failed to vote, not because you were not in Washington at the time. You were there, and voted on the same day on Mr. Laffin's motion to print extra copies of the report of the Joint Committee. Why you neglected to vote on the Civil Rights Bill, I do not know.

It is not my intention to question motives; I criticise actions, even actions of neglect. In failing to vote on that bill, you showed yourself unfit for the place you occupy; it would have been more manly to have

voted against the bill, than not to vote at all. Your constituents, like other Americans, admire open, square work; they don't like doubt, shrinking, or neglect of duty.

On the sixteenth of March, besides other neglects, you did *not* vote on either of several amendments to the *Loan Bill*.

Your neglect to vote on measures of this kind seems to have by this time become chronic. Financial questions do not seem to interest you.

April second, you did *not* vote in regard to a Ship Canal in Wisconsin. The commercial intercourse between the States seems to have no interest for a Representative from a commercial city.

April seventh, you did *not* vote on motion to give Dodge the seat occupied by Brooks. You don't attend to business. You ought to be more attentive.

These, my dear sir, are but a portion of your neglects, a part only of your failures, only a partial list of your sins of omission, but quite enough to justify me in saying *that you do not attend to business*, that you are an unfaithful agent, that you have not, up to the date mentioned above, done what you agreed to do when you took our votes.

I need not be told that your vote on any of the measures referred to above would not have changed the result; I shall not admit any such plea. If any of these measures were right, you should have helped pass them. If any were wrong, your vote should have been against them.

I cannot excuse your inattention to business; your other constituents will remember this against you.

I now leave your sins of omission, and come to the more serious sins of commission: your crimes. I speak plainly; I intend to say crimes, and the majority of your constituents will agree with me.

The first of your votes that I shall censure was of but little importance, only so far as it displays what I consider "meanness," "littleness," on your part. I refer to your vote refusing the Hall of the House to the *Freedman's Aid Commission*, a society whose efforts were laudable, and whose beneficiaries are the wards of the nation. This vote was not on the general principle of refusing the Hall for all "outside" purposes, because within a week you did vote its use to the Christian Commission. Your prejudice against the blacks is stronger than your sympathy for them. I suppose you can't help it.

On the eleventh of December, you voted to suspend the rules to allow Mr. Niblack to introduce a resolution giving the privilege of the floor to persons claiming to be members from the Rebel States, *pending the action of Congress in the matter*. On this motion there were 39 yeas and 110 nays. Among the yeas there were, besides yourself, such men

as Ancona, Brooks, Le Blond, Niblack, Rogers, Voorhees, and others whose course during the war was calculated to aid the enemies of the Government.

What is that adage about judging of a man by the company he keeps?

On December fourteenth the following resolution came up, viz. :

“That all papers which may be offered relative to the representation of the so-called Confederate States of America, or either of them, shall be referred to the Joint Committee of fifteen, without debate, and no member shall be admitted from either of said States until Congress shall have declared such States, or either of them, entitled to representation.” Yeas 107—Nays 56.

Among the nays were the same class of men as I mentioned above.

On the eighth of January, the following resolution was up to be voted on, viz. :

“That in order to the maintenance of the national authority, and the protection of the loyal citizens of the seceding States, it is the sense of the House that the military forces of the Government should not be withdrawn from those States until the two Houses of Congress shall have ascertained and declared their further presence there no longer necessary.” Yeas 94—Nays 37.

Among the nays, including yourself, Mr. Raymond, were Brooks, Chanler, Voorhees, and other opponents of the party that elected you. Have these men changed their political views, or have your own been altered?

Just look at this resolution carefully. It declares it unsafe to withdraw the military from certain places, before Congress shall have *ascertained and declared* it safe to do so; now, in order to ascertain the condition of those localities, Congress had, by your help, appointed a committee with power to send for persons and papers, and while this committee was, under the authority of Congress, trying to *ascertain* so that that body might be able to *declare* it safe to withdraw the military; while the information that came from those localities went to show the imperative necessity of still keeping troops there to protect loyal whites and freed blacks (both classes having been our friends during the war, and both from that fact receiving such treatment at the hands of the late Rebels as to demand the protection of the Government), and before the *Executive had considered it safe to issue his Peace Proclamation*, you, a Representative from a loyal State, sent by an honorable constituency, one that desires to make just returns for services rendered; sent by a constituency whose every member was and is for the maintenance of the national faith to all, black as well as white—a constituency that would

not for an instant countenance a wrong by their votes, or neglecting to vote, place in jeopardy or danger the humblest person in the land—you, their Representative, dared to injure them, and insult the party that made you a Congressman, by voting against this resolution—dared cast that wicked vote against justice! You dared to be found voting side by side with, and using the same “nay,” as the worst enemies this nation ever had. You, my dear sir, will live to regret that vote.

January ninth, you voted against referring Mr. Bingham’s resolution of confidence in the President to the Joint Committee. Yeas 107—Nays 32. You were again with the old enemies of the Government.

I presume you may say in excuse for this “nay,” that a resolution of this kind did not require any reference whatever, and that the House should have voted on it without referring. I admit the force of the excuse, but it seems to me that, as it did not involve any sacrifice of principle, or convey any condemnation of the President, you might have voted with your party, or rather with the Representatives of the party that elected you, and not with the most bitter opponents of that party, and some of the most implacable enemies (during the war) of the country. Let that vote go.

January thirty-first, you voted against a resolution from the Joint Committee proposing an amendment to the Constitution in regard to the basis of Congressional Representation. Yeas 120—Nays 46. Again you are found in company with former political opponents; again voting against the party that elected you; again voting with old-time sympathizers with the Rebellion; again, by your vote, giving aid and comfort to the men who, in times gone by, would have utterly crushed you, and the party that elected you. And this, too, in the absence of any evidence that they have changed their political opinion, in the face of the fact that these men are to-day doing, as they have been doing any time the last five years, all they possibly can to bring back to places of honor and profit rebels whose unwashed hands are yet red with the blood of your fellow-citizens; aye, of your constituents. Mr. Raymond, you are making great political mistakes, you are guilty of high political crimes; votes in Congress in these days are acts, great acts; and a wrong vote is a criminal act. You are guilty of several such.

On the nineteenth of February, you voted against the following resolution:

“That in the language of the Proclamation of the President of May 29th, 1865, the rebellion which was waged by a portion of the people of the United States against the properly constituted authorities of the Government thereof, in the most violent and revolting form, but whose organized and armed forces have now been almost entirely overcome, has, in its revolutionary progress,

deprived the people of the States in which it was organized of all civil government." Yeas 102—Nays 36.

This resolution, Mr. Raymond, was in the words of the President; it was not framed by any of that class of Unionists whom you endeavor to stigmatize as "Radical." It was the President's own language, and yet you had the hardihood to be found voting on it with Voorhees, Brooks, and other apologists for Rebellion. If these States had not, by the progress of the war, been deprived of all civil government, on what ground, and by what right, had the President sent them Provisional Governors, with military power to enforce their acts? Martial Law had superseded the Civil. That was a foolish vote on your part, and doubly criminal for being in such company. On the same day you committed a greater crime by voting against the following resolution:

"That whenever the people of any State are thus deprived of all civil government, it becomes the duty of Congress, by appropriate legislation, to enable them to organize a State Government, and, in the language of the Constitution, to guarantee to such States a Republican form of government." Yeas 104—Nays 33.

Voorhees, Brooks & Co. in the negative. Once more you are found with former enemies of the Government, men not yet converted to the right. Let us analyze your vote. By voting "No" with five-years-old copperheads on this resolution, you say that when the people of a State are, by the progress of a war, deprived of civil government, it is *not the duty of Congress to aid them in establishing such government, and requiring it to be Republican in form.*

The logical sequence of your position on this question is simply the essence of State Sovereignty, not State Rights merely, but *State Sovereignty*, pure and simple; and this is and was the heart, soul, body, brains, and all of the spirit of Rebellious Secession. If Congress can't do this sort of work, it must be done, if at all, by the People of the chaotic States, *regardless of the approval or criticism of Congress*—and that is only another phase of *State Supremacy*, which is nothing more nor less than *Secession, REBELLION, TREASON*; and the men whom you voted with on this Resolution are the consistent and persistent advocates of and apologists for all three of these crimes. Are you to be judged by the company you keep? I shall not at this time, Mr. Raymond, refer to any other vote of yours, though I do not forget the vote on sustaining the Veto of the Civil Rights Bill. That matter is too important to come at the end of a long letter like this. At another time your constituents will refer to that vote, if I do not.

I have thus, my dear sir, endeavored to show you wherein you have

neglected your duty—wherein you have done wrong; what crimes of negation you have been guilty of, and what greater crimes of positive wrong you have committed. You will be tried by a jury of your constituents, convicted, sentenced, executed; and may the future have mercy on your memory!

Respectfully, &c., &c.,

SINCLAIR TOUSEY.

NEW YORK, April 30th, 1866.

A REPRESENTATIVE TO A CONSTITUENT.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, WASHINGTON, D. C.,
May 4th, 1866.

SINCLAIR TOUSEY, Esq.:

DEAR SIR—I have received your note of the 1st instant, with the printed circular letter which accompanied it.

I am obliged to you for expressing your respect for me as a citizen, in spite of the censure you feel bound to pass upon my public acts. I have no complaint whatever to make of that censure, nor indeed am I surprised in the slightest at your expression of it. In the conversations which you and I have had on political matters hitherto, you have never hesitated to say to me that the paramount object which you had in view in connecting yourself at all with politics, was the elevation of the negro race to an equality with the white, and that you judge all political issues by their bearing upon this one point. I have just as frankly told you that, while I could understand and respect that as a theoretical basis of political action, I did not share it, and I should always endeavor to regard the interest of the whole country, and of all the people in it, and that the interest of any one class, black or white, whatever might be their condition, would always be of secondary importance with me. Differing so widely as we do on these fundamental principles, I have never ventured to indulge the hope that my course in Congress would command your approval. Indeed, I am somewhat surprised to learn, from your private note, that it commands your personal respect, and this, you will excuse me for saying, I could not have inferred from the tone and temper of your printed letter.

I respectfully decline your request to print that letter in the *Times*.

Your obedient servant,

H. J. RAYMOND.

A CONSTITUENT TO A REPRESENTATIVE.

NEW YORK, May 9th, 1866.

Hon. HENRY J. RAYMOND, M. C.:

DEAR SIR—I am in receipt of your favor of the 4th instant.

The compliment you pay me in referring to my former avowals as to the “paramount object” I have in taking part in politics, and your reminder of the standard by which I measure all political issues, though pleasing to me, is not so pleasing as a more direct response to my printed letter would have been. In that letter I charged you, among other things, with gross and repeated neglect of your public duty, and gave the facts on which I based that charge. You neither question my acts, deny my charge, nor make any explanation of, or apology for, your negligence. I assume that I have as much right to censure this negligence of yours as others have to praise you for what they approve. I believe you do not question this. If I have any such right at all, am I not entitled to some sort of reply other than a reference to the “paramount object” of my political efforts, and your respect for that object as a “theoretical basis”?

Does the “paramount object” I have in political matters furnish any reason why you should not attend to your duty? Does that object justify you in voting against the principles of the party that elected you? Does your respect for that object, as a “theoretical basis of political action,” furnish a reason for your attempts at destroying the practical workings of the theory when its application to a large part of the country and many of its people, is attempted?

In my printed letter I also speak of what I designate your sins of commission—your Congressional crimes, your votes. In your letter of the 4th instant, you refer to our political conversations, not only to remind me of my political object, but also to remind me of your own, which was, or is, “to regard the interests of the whole country and all the people in it, and that the interest of any one class, black or white, whatever might be their condition, would always be of secondary importance” with you.

Am I to understand this reference to your “political object” to be your justification of the votes I condemn? Am I to understand this reference to your own previously expressed opinions as an intimation that I had no reason to expect you to vote differently, and therefore have no cause for my censure? Do you mean, by this reference, to intimate that these votes are consistent with the principles you entertained and advocated *before* your election? Pardon me for saying that it is difficult to see how a “regard for the interest of the whole country, and of

all the people in it," can be promoted by voting to keep in legal inferiority one-sixth of the entire population of the whole country, as you did in voting to sustain the veto of the Civil Rights bill.

It is also difficult to see of what avail your "regard for the whole country and of all the people in it" is in view of your vote against affording protection to nearly one-half of the whole country, and to about one-fifth of all the people, as you did on the 8th of January, by voting against the retention of troops in the rebellious States until Congress should think it safe to withdraw them.

Mr. Raymond, your reference to *my* object in political affairs does not justify *your* neglect of duty; does not justify your votes in opposition to the principles of the party that elected you; does not justify your voting with the abettors of the late terrible war.

Be pleased to bear in mind that my censures are not based on your failing to vote in favor of my peculiar views, or for voting against them. Not at all. I state, in the beginning of my printed letter, that "*I disapprove of your Congressional career*," and I then proceed to tell you why; and my first reason is, "*that you have not attended to the business that you were sent to do*." I do not say that that business was to advocate or vote for measures tending to advance any "paramount object" of mine, and that I censure you for such neglect. No, sir; this censure is based entirely on public grounds, and not at all on my personal views.

Be pleased, also, to bear in mind, that, in my censure of the votes referred to, I made no allusion whatever to their being opposed to my personal opinions. On the contrary, I iterated and reiterated the charge that you had voted in opposition to the Representatives and principles of the party by whom you were elected; that you were voting in company with the most bitter and uncompromising enemies of that party and its doctrines. My condemnation of those votes rests entirely on PUBLIC, PARTY grounds, and not in the least on private personal views, and I think you will find it difficult to show the contrary.

Then why allude to *my* "paramount object" in political affairs as a response to my printed letter? Why remind me of your former avowals as to your regard for the whole country, and all the people in it, as an answer to my censure for your votes against a very large part of the country, and a great part of the people in it? I beg you to understand, Mr. Raymond, that my "paramount object" still lives, though much nearer its consummation than when the declaration was made in our conversations, and this, too, in opposition to your voting in favor of the Veto of the Civil Rights Bill.

I venture to intimate that I was not, and am not now, alone in the party that elected you in my "paramount object."

That party has ever advocated the doctrine of HUMAN RIGHTS; the principles of UNIVERSAL LIBERTY; of COMMON JUSTICE; of the EQUALITY OF ALL CLASSES AND CONDITIONS OF MEN, BEFORE THE LAW; of the ELEVATION OF THE OPPRESSED; of the LEVELING UP OF THE DEGRADED; of THE INHERENT RIGHT OF ALL MEN TO EQUAL LEGAL PRIVILEGES AND IMMUNITIES; and on these grand doctrines and principles fought a long and mighty battle, resulting in the double victory of twice electing our MARTYR PRESIDENT.

Let me add, Mr. Raymond, that the party could never have succeeded (and ought not) and you could never have been a Congressman, if the party or yourself had advocated any principles less grand, less universal, less ennobling, less ELEVATING, than these; that, had either the Republican Union party or yourself announced that the "interest of any one class, black or white, whatever might be their condition," would in the consideration of political affairs be of "*secondary importance*," neither the party nor yourself would to-day have any political existence. Let me remind you that it was the *condition of a class, of a part only of the people of our country*, that gave us our glorious battle-cry of "Liberty for all." We Republicans and then Unionists (Unionists because Republicans) made the condition of a class a matter of the FIRST IMPORTANCE. We found this class in a condition of slavery. The party said, There shall be no slavery. This condition of this class must be changed, ELEVATED into FREEDOM. Did we not proclaim that Freedom was the right of all? that life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness were rights as universal as humanity? You know we did; and on that proclamation we won as a party. We cannot now take back those declarations, or prove recreant to them; and he who attempts it—whether Representative or Constituent—will be utterly crushed between the upper and nether millstones of God's justice.

I trust you will excuse me for trespassing so long on your time and patience—I will occupy neither but a few moments longer. You have, since you went to Washington, made at least three mistakes.

Number one was your neglect of official duties.

Number two was in voting with the most bitter enemies the country ever had, outside of the Rebel ranks.

Number three is your reference to our political conversations, as having anything whatever to do with your Congressional crimes or my censure of them.

Allow me to add that you seem to misunderstand my written note sent with my printed letter. I did not say, or *did not intend* to say, that your Congressional course commanded my personal respect. I intended

to say *that, notwithstanding your public acts were censurable, my respect for you, as a citizen, was unchanged.* Quite a difference.

I respectfully repeat my request that you cause my printed letter to you to be published in the *Times*. (Not in a Sunday edition.) Justice to a constituent will not allow you to refuse. Fairness to those of your readers who desire to hear both sides of a question, will not allow you to shut me out.

I think you will on further reflection comply with my request—you can't do less than be magnanimous. You certainly will not compel me to reach the readers of the *Times* through its advertising columns. Trusting that our personal respect for each other may continue unchanged, notwithstanding our differences of political ideas,

I am respectfully, &c., &c.,

SINCLAIR TOUSEY.

A REPRESENTATIVE TO A CONSTITUENT.

THIRTY-NINTH CONGRESS U. S.,

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

WASHINGTON, D. C., May 11th, 1866.

DEAR SIR: My note of the 4th inst., to which I have just received your reply, was merely intended to be an acknowledgment of the receipt of your circular letter. I had no thought or intention of entering into an argument with you upon the point whether I have done my duty, or not, as a member of Congress from the Sixth District of New York. You are entitled to your own opinion upon that point, and I have not the slightest disposition to contest it, whatever it may be. My reference to the paramount object which led you, according to your own statement, to take part in politics at all, was made under the impression that you would judge my course from that point of view exclusively, and, as it was entirely different from my own, I supposed, as a matter of course, that you would not approve my action, whatever it might be. In regard to the publication of your letter in the *Times*, permit me to say, that I do not see upon what principle of justice you, or any one else, can require me to publish, at my own expense, attacks either upon my private character or my public conduct. I must again decline to comply with your demand.

Very respectfully, your obedient serv't,

H. J. RAYMOND.

SINCLAIR TOUSEY, Esq.

[The circulation of this document during the sitting of the Convention, caused considerable commotion among the Delegates and others.]

THE THIRTY-NINE ARTICLES OF FAITH OF THE NEW PARTY,

TO BE ORGANIZED AT PHILADELPHIA IN AUGUST, 1866.

ARTICLE I.

WE believe that Philadelphia is a much better "objective point" from which to "overrun the northern States" than was Gettysburgh. At all events, we shall not be turned back from this point (if we pay our tavern bills).

ARTICLE II.

We believe that "Conservatism" is the only true "ism," except Johnsonism. In truth, Johnsonism is the only pure Conservatism.

ARTICLE III.

We believe that this Convention represents the only true Union party (of office-seekers) in the country. We are the only true and reliable conservatives that the country can produce. We are the only really patriotic party now in existence; and, besides us, there are no patriotic conservative Unionists anywhere. We are "properly endorsed" by every friend the late Confederate States ever had. We are for the Union, the whole Union, and nothing but the Union (as it was when our friends bore sway).

ARTICLE IV.

We believe that the only (present) way to get office is to support "my policy," and we solemnly declare that we will, on the true faith of office-seekers, support that policy, come weal, come woe (especially weal).

ARTICLE V.

We believe that that part of "my policy" of turning all Radicals out of office and putting true Conservatives (of patronage) in their places, is the only sure way to permanently reconstruct and restore the Union. Our Alexander is our model man. He has his reward.

ARTICLE VI.

We believe that the Tennessee Andrew now in the White House (while he has offices to bestow) is a much greater man than the Andrew formerly there. We always said so—every one of us.

ARTICLE VII.

We believe that Congress, especially this radical one, has no right to prescribe terms and conditions on which the late Confederate States may again take their equal places in national legislation. The President is the only proper party to have any "policy" on that subject. He has the patronage—Congress has none. The right to carry out a "policy" rests with patronage. We believe in the President.

ARTICLE VIII.

We believe that the President ought not to enforce any law that he don't approve, even if passed by Congress over his veto by more than the Constitutional two-thirds vote; hence, we believe and declare that the President does right in not enforcing that bill of abomination, called the "Civil Rights Bill." He does right in allowing any and every court in any State to ignore that law passed by a radical Congress. The enforcement of that law would be a fatal blow at our favorite doctrine of State supremacy. We stand by the President (while he has a single office to give).

ARTICLE IX.

We believe that the President (if he will allow us to have any belief) ought not to have recognized the present self-styled Congress as the rightful Congress. We believe that he ought to prevent that radical body from again polluting the capital. He ought (if he will allow us to say anything) to recognize Conservatives and Democrats of the North, and anybody that is sent from the South, as the only true Congress, and he ought to exclude by force of arms all others claiming to be Congressmen. We will sustain him in this course (as long as he has any patronage.)

ARTICLE X.

We believe that "my policy" of pardoning all Confederates who desire it, is a wise stroke of conciliatory, compromising conservatism. Now that these men have ceased to fight with bullets, they should be allowed to try ballots.

ARTICLE XI.

We believe that any State is superior to and ought to be supreme over all the rest; hence the veto of the Civil Rights Bill was a wise dis-

play of "my policy." The right of a State to ignore any law of Congress must be maintained intact.

ARTICLE XII.

We believe that any State has the right not only to do as she will within her own limits (even to forbidding persons from other States to enter her borders, and to prevent the passage of the U. S. mails), but also to secede; and we further believe that every man should "go with" his State, and, if the State can't "get out of the Union," the individual should, by taking up arms; and, when not successful, both the State and the individual should be treated as if they had always been "good children." They are parts of the family, and none of our family can do any wrong.

ARTICLE XIII.

We believe that "loyalty to the Government" consists in ruling it; and, when men can't rule it to their liking, they should overturn it, or, at least, endeavor to, and, if not successful, should, as consolation for their bad luck, be allowed to hold the best offices.

ARTICLE XIV.

We believe that the neutrality of Kentucky ought to have been followed by the other border States—in fact, by all the States, there being no authority in the old Constitution for coercing a sovereign State. This is the law, as laid down by Jeems and his wise men.

ARTICLE XV.

We believe that the attempt to provision U. S. troops in a U. S. fort, by U. S. officials, was a high-handed outrage on the rights and dignities of a sovereign State. We declare that there should have been no U. S. forts in Charleston Harbor: then there would have been no U. S. troops there to need food, and the supremacy of South Carolina could not have been questioned, and the late cruel war would not have been begun at the time and place when and where it did begin.

ARTICLE XVI.

We believe that the self-respect and dignity of South Carolina demanded the course she adopted in firing on Sumter.

ARTICLE XVII.

We believe that the (self-styled) Loyal States should pay for all the slaves set free by the Proclamation of their President, and for all killed by the war. A man is entitled to his own. Our Southern brothers owned their slaves, and, of course, should be paid for them.

ARTICLE XVIII.

We believe that the (self-styled) Loyal States should pay the debts contracted by their Government in coercing the Confederates to lay down their arms.

ARTICLE XIX.

We believe that the late Confederate States should not be made to pay any taxes for the pensions of Federal soldiers. It is unjust to compel an honorable people to aid in supporting those who prevented them from gaining their independence. The self-styled Loyal States should pay all the pensions of their soldiers.

ARTICLE XX.

We believe that the United States, now that the Confederate States have (because they could not help it) ceased all armed opposition to Federal rule, should pay *all debts* contracted by the Confederate authorities in their righteous struggle for independence.

ARTICLE XXI.

We believe that all the debts contracted by the (so-called) Loyal States in prosecuting the war for the subjugation of the South should be repudiated, if the debts contracted by the Confederate authorities are not assumed by the United States. This is but simple justice.

ARTICLE XXII.

We believe, in the language of the patriotic men who met at Chicago in 1864, that the war was a failure (though we differ with them as to which side failed), and having been a failure on the part of the oppressed and down-trodden Confederates, it is now our bounden duty to do all we can to aid them to gain, by words and votes, what they failed to secure by arms; and to this we solemnly pledge our fortunes and our sacred honors (that is, we would if we had any of either).

ARTICLE XXIII.

We believe that it is an infringement of personal (office-holding) right to require any kind of an oath from an intending voter or applicant for office. Now that the war (of arms) is over, all white men should be treated as equal. Of course they should.

ARTICLE XXIV.

We believe that a white Confederate soldier ought to be represented in the national Congress before any black man who fought for the Union. Black Federals have no rights which white Confederates ought to respect.

ARTICLE XXV.

We believe that that true gentleman and Christian soldier, Major-General Robert E. Lee, is a much better man to be at the head of the military forces of the country than the heretofore obscure person now occupying that important position. *A change is needed, and must be made.*

ARTICLE XXVI.

We believe that there can never be a perfect Union without excluding New England. Chivalry is better than Puritanism.

ARTICLE XXVII.

We believe that the "masterly inactivity" of Little Mac was a much greater piece of "strategical warfare" than were the destructive marches and raids of Sherman and Sheridan. They paid no heed to the amenities of civilized warfare.

ARTICLE XXVIII.

We believe that the burning of occupied hotels and theaters by the agents of the oppressed Confederates, was perfectly justifiable. Also, the poisoning of water fountains. Also, the robbing of emigrants on shipboard. Anything and everything is justifiable on the part of a down-trodden people like the Confederates, even the starving of prisoners and introduction of small pox.

ARTICLE XXIX.

We believe that Andersonville was a much more comfortable place than Johnson's Island; that Libby was a palace of pleasures compared with Camp Douglass; that Salisbury was an "Enchanted Isle" compared with Elmira.

ARTICLE XXX.

We believe that a great, magnanimous Christian nation ought to forgive all the mistakes and crimes (even if not repented of) of all its people. This is the true interpretation of the New Testament injunction—"Do unto others as you would that others should do unto you." All who attempt wrong desire forgiveness (when not successful).

ARTICLE XXXI.

We believe that such honorable, courteous, dignified gentlemen as Mason, Slidell, Thompson (known as Jake), Toombs and Wigfall, are more fit to grace the United States Senate (if we must have such a body at all), than such ordinary persons as Fessenden, Sumner, Wade, Howard, Trumbull, or any other northern men.

ARTICLE XXXII.

We believe that such high-minded, conservative, chivalric gentlemen as Preston Brooks, Alec. Stephens, Pryor, Rhett, and Keitt, were better men for the House of Representatives than such Radicals as Thad. Stevens, Conkling, Colfax, Kelly, Boutwell, or other "loyal" northerners.

ARTICLE XXXIII.

We believe that our Confederate brothers do perfectly right in prohibiting black Unionists from strewing flowers over the graves of white soldiers who died fighting against the independence of the Confederate States. These black men should not be allowed to remind white men that the Confederacy "is not."

ARTICLE XXXIV.

We believe that future generations will properly embalm the memory of the martyr, Wilkes Booth, who so nobly sacrificed a young and hopeful life for the good of his country.

ARTICLE XXXV.

We believe that our Southern brothers manifest a proper spirit in not displaying the American Flag on their public buildings. That "rag" has no business to be flaunted in the faces of a brave, chivalric people.

ARTICLE XXXVI.

We believe that the white people of the South do right in not celebrating the Fourth of July, and in turning over the "doings" of that day to the blacks. Our Southern white friends should do naught to remind themselves of a national "fete day" not commemorative of their own "independence."

ARTICLE XXXVII.

We believe that it is unwise and provocative of bitterness of feeling, to allow so many one-legged, one-armed, and scarred men to meet us everywhere through the northern States. They should be kept out of sight, or sent out of the country. Our southern brothers should not, when visiting the North, be offended by such reminders of their glorious struggle.

ARTICLE XXXVIII.

We believe that those noble people, the Baltimoreans, did right in shooting those New England fanatics who passed through their city in April, 1861. Massachusetts should not send armed men over the "sa-

ered soil" of a sovereign State. The Baltimore mayor did wrong in "tenderly" sending back the dead bodies of the invaders. They should have been pitched into the sea, "unwept, unhonored, and unsung."

ARTICLE XXXIX.

We believe that all men who fail to adopt these "Articles of Faith" ought to be classed as "Radical fanatics," and deprived of all voice or part in political affairs, especially of all offices.

July, 1866.

WHAT MATTERS IT ?

To the Editor of the New York Tribune :

SIR—Why do you refer to the course of *The New-York Times*? Is it a matter of any consequence which way it goes to-day or may go the next? Who cares? You are not so verdant as to suppose that any of its readers are at all influenced by what its Editor may say. People do not witness "ground and lofty tumbling" for instruction. Not at all. They look for amusement, not information. So with the readers of *The Times*. They take it for amusement. Years of inconsistencies, absurdities, contradictions, abandonment of friends, abuse of those who would be friendly, assaults on all who differ with its Editor, pretensions, assumptions, and all and every those acts that serve to stamp the actor with the absence of all that makes a man, have shown the readers of *The Times* that all they can expect from its Editor is amusement, and this they get in all shades of color and degrees of laughable seriousness.

What matters it ?

Tribune, Aug. 31, 1866.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION.

OBJECTIONS TO THE DIVISION OF THIRTY-TWO DELEGATES BETWEEN THE
REPUBLICAN AND DEMOCRATIC PARTIES.

To the Editor of the New York Tribune :

SIR—I thank you for your article in to-day's issue about our Constitutional Convention, and hope I shall not be considered presumptuous for differing with our worthy Governor and yourself, as regards the talked-of division of the thirty two Delegates at Large between the two great political parties into which our voting population is divided. I assume that the Republican party is in the majority in our State (in fact, the proposed division of the "thirty-two" is based on that proposition), and, being thus in the majority, is responsible to the people of the State for the character and composition of that Convention, and its results.

If we have both the power and the responsibility, why should we seek to share either with our political opponents, by so legislating as to give them a portion of each?

If we are not in the majority, shall we gain anything by the proposed division? If so, how? Will such a division aid us to elect a single one of the sixteen Republicans whom it is proposed to nominate, who could not be elected by our votes if the whole "thirty-two" were nominated on a single ticket? If so, How?

If we have, as I assume, the majority of the voters with us, why should we aid our opponents, who are in the minority, to elect sixteen of their men by our neglecting to vote for the whole of our own thirty-two? Why take any of them into the Convention at all, if we can keep them out?

The Governor and yourself answer this question by saying that in your opinion the proposed division of the thirty-two will secure such nominations by the two parties as to contribute to the strength of a deliberative body charged with duties of such interest and magnitude.

What is the reverse of this proposition? Simply that the Republican party in and of itself, does not contain, or would not elect, enough good material to constitute the whole Convention, and therefore the balance must be sought in the Democratic party.

I don't believe that either the Governor or yourself intend to an

nounce any such doctrine, but that is, nevertheless, what the proposed division amounts to in substance.

My opinion is that the Republican party contains men of as much brains, honor, dignity, learning, capacity, wisdom, experience, PATRIOTISM, and every other qualification needed in that Convention, as can be found in the ranks of its opponents, and that such will be nominated; that the principles of the Republican party are the only true foundation on which our Government can rest, and holding these opinions I am opposed to allowing one single Democrat a vote in that convention to the exclusion of a single Republican. I also believe that our men, Republicans, the *whole thirty-two* of them, can be just as easily elected as any sixteen of them. Then why divide?

I am told, if we, by this division of the thirty-two, permit sixteen of their men to go into the Convention of this general ticket project, that we shall secure a great many Democratic votes in favor of the Constitution, when it is submitted to the people for consideration. No proof is offered to sustain this. I don't believe it, but if it is to secure Democratic votes it will be because it will suit Democratic voters, and not because sixteen more Democrats were allowed in the Convention by Republican legislation than could have gotten in in any other way. Now, if the Constitution must be so framed as to secure Democratic votes enough to insure its adoption, why not let that party carry the Convention on the start, and manage it to suit themselves? If we fear to take the responsibility of doing the work, let them; they don't lack pluck, if they do lack votes. You may depend on this, any constitution that may be passed by any convention in which our party has the majority, will be opposed in toto by the whole Democratic party, as a black Republican, Abolition document that every Democrat ought to reject. Every argument in favor of the proposed division applies with equal force to a division at any and every election we have; in fact, with more force to the others than to this, for if we can't trust the Democratic party with the formation of laws and their administration, AFTER WE have the great fundamental law passed, how can we trust them to frame that fundamental law, the Constitution? I am tired of legislative or nominating, or other attempts to please our political opponents. Let them go their way by themselves. - Let us go our way by ourselves. The parties travel different paths, and they cannot be legislated into traveling only one.

If the principles of our party are correct, their elucidation and practical application should be confined to our own hands.

If ~~not~~ correct, abandon them and take up those that are. The Republican party not only holds the destiny of our State in its hands, but

also holds that of the nation. The party in the Empire State must be true to itself and to its principles, and not set other States the bad precedent of giving, by its legislation, any chance whatever to its political opponents to occupy places of honor, responsibility, or power.

Thus, and thus only, will its future be as glorious as its memories of the past.

New York, Feb. 21, 1867.

NEGRO-VOTING IN THE DISTRICT.

TIME'S CHANGES: YESTERDAY A SLAVE, TO-DAY A CITIZEN.

IN the olden time, according to veritable history, great changes were wrought by the wand of the fairy, or the caprice of the genii. Now Christianizing civilization works greater changes than genii or fairy ever dreamed of.

Yesterday, as the nation's flag floated in mocking pride from the dome of the Capitol, its folds covered the crouching form of the shackled slave. To-day that flag floats in just pride from the same dome, while, beneath its starry folds, there crouches no slave, but, walking erect in the image of his God, yesterday's slave is a MAN.

Yesterday the avenues of the nation's Capital echoed the clanking of the bondmen's chains as they were driven to the shambles. To-day those avenues proudly echo the tread of FREEMEN as they go "marching on" to the voting place.

Yesterday, as the Representative of the people wended his way to the Capitol, he was shocked by the cries of scourged and chained slaves. To-day he is cheered by the gleesome shouts and wild huzzas of enfranchised men with ballots in their hands.

Yesterday, the champions of bondage ruled Senate and House, contemptuously spitting upon the sacred right of petition, scornfully and brutally insulting and assaulting the advocates of freedom. To-day neither Senate nor House gives shelter to bondage or its friends, and the black ghost of slavery can find no refuge for its horrid form where, in its lifetime, it was supreme.

Yesterday the word of slavery might have stood against the world. To-day it lies so low that none may do it reverence.

Yesterday black men had no rights which white men were bound to respect. To-day white men have no rights which black men cannot possess.

Yesterday the auctioneer's block was the only rostrum on which black men were allowed to appear. To-day the platform of the lyceum, the bar of the court, and the pulpit of the sanctuary show the world the black man's capacities.

Yesterday the chains of slavery bound the ballot. To-day the ballot of freedom breaks the chains of slavery.

Yesterday, at the nation's Capitol, was brought forth in iniquity the awful "Fugitive Slave Bill," with a Presidential approval. To-day the Capitol purges itself of that perilous stuff, by bringing forth in righteousness the glorious "Civil Rights Bill," in opposition to Presidential vetoes.

It is fit and proper that freedom should show its first fruits in the District of Columbia, by making voters of the men therein who were but yesterday slaves, chained in its shambles.

Fairy nor genii ever made transformations like these. Yesterday a shackled slave—a thing. To-day an enfranchised citizen—a man.

Civilization is coming brightly out of the darkness of the dead ages, and marching bravely onward and upward toward that great plane on which Christianity is to establish the brotherhood of man and the fatherhood of God.

February 28, 1867.

EXCISE LAWS.

REGULATING THE TRAFFIC IN INTOXICATING LIQUORS.

MUCH is said about the present Excise Liquor Law. Webster defines "Excise" thus: "To lay an impost or duty on articles produced and consumed in a country, or on licenses." Governments always have laid or imposed Excise duties on products, or attached them to licenses granted for certain purposes; many have levied Excise on their exported products. Excise and customs duties are as old as government. The Savior found one who became an apostle, "sitting at the receipt of custom," collecting an Excise laid by the Romans. The city of Paris to-day collects an Excise duty on all provisions passing her barriers. Our own city of New York demands and collects an Excise duty from all market gardeners who offer their products for sale in her streets. (See Controller Connolly's circular in the daily papers.) She also demands an Excise duty from all her cartmen, hackmen, omnibuses, venders (what means the words "Licensed Vender," which we see on so many wagons, except that an Excise has been paid by the owner?), porters, &c., and for every license, she not only requires money, but also demands conditions from the recipient. The public treasury requires the former, and the public protection the latter. The city demands an Excise for selling gunpowder, but couples with it the condition that only so much of that article shall be kept on hand. Why? The public safety compels it. So in regard to kerosene, saltpeter, and other inflammable and dangerous articles; and if any attempt is made to violate these proper laws, the authorities are clothed with ample power to cause the removal of such articles in the most summary and arbitrary manner without resorting to the slow routine of making complaints before a magistrate, or the procurement of a process.

No man's life or property would be safe a moment but for these laws, and yet many persons complain loudly of the Excise Law, regulating the sale of liquors, and its enforcement by the police; and some go so far as to counsel violent opposition to its enforcement, forgetting the very important fact that if one class of interested persons are permitted to successfully set at naught one law of the State or city, another interested class may attempt to forcibly nullify another law, the result of

which would be the practical negation of all law, and society would be ruled by brute force, and the weak soon become the prey of the strong.

Law, order, system, regularity, security of life and property, constitute civilization, and that is the sole and only safeguard that the weak have against the strong, that people have against the vicious. Most laws influencing moral action are laws of restraint, laws that say you "shall not" do thus and so, not laws saying you may do so and so. The law does not require you to aid your neighbor in building a house, but it does say in the most unmistakable language that when built you "shall not" tear it down. So with license or Excise laws. These do not require that you shall engage in a certain business or sell liquors.

They are laws of restraint, of regulation, of system, of protection, of conditions; laws which no man is compelled to place himself under, for no man is required by the Excise law to engage in the liquor business; it is purely and entirely his own matter, dictated by his own interest or taste; but if a person will engage in that trade, he must comply with the conditions. Nothing can be more fair. The Excise law, like the city laws of license for cartmen and others, restrains the entire public from selling liquors; but, it also, like the city laws, allows (no compulsion, however) a certain portion of the public to do this thing (sell liquor) upon certain conditions, and restrains these certain parties from such selling, if they violate these conditions. Now, as the interest of the party receiving the Excise license prompts him to engage in this business, and he voluntarily takes out his license, coupled with its conditions, ought he not, as an honorable citizen, to keep his part of the contract, and comply with the conditions he voluntarily takes on himself?

With what propriety, then, do the opponents of the Excise law oppose it, and threaten personal violence to the officials whose duty is to enforce it? Are these men good law-abiding citizens? Are they setting a good example to other classes of the community who pay Excise licenses? Suppose the cartmen, the hackmen, and all others who, in our city, are licensed (and all with conditions voluntarily accepted), should resort to violent opposition to the law by threats and attempts at personal violence toward the city officials, would not the public safety be endangered, and public order be entirely gone?

Obedience to law distinguishes good citizens from bad. The Excise license protects the holder from the competition of the unlicensed, and he should be the last person to oppose that law.

But, say the anti-Excise law men, we are opposed to that law every way; we desire "free trade" in liquor, just the same as others have in groceries, dry goods, &c.; forgetting that there can be no such thing as freedom in the sense they use the phrase in any community. No man

is free from excise, taxes, or duties in any civilized country under heaven, and cannot be; for on those Excise duties and taxes depends the very life of every such government. There is no freedom in this city for the unlicensed running of hacks, carts, trucks. The protection of those employing them requires official control over them, which is done by Excise license. The cost of repaving streets demands it. There is no freedom in using the Croton water (more necessary than liquor); all must pay Excise for it, and even with the license on which an Excise duty has been paid certain restraining conditions are coupled. Why? Public economy and safety require the conditions, one of which is that the licensed shall not sprinkle the street in front of his own house during certain hours of the twenty-four. Where is the "free trade" principle in that condition? The water laws do not compel any person to ask for water permits, but, if taken, certain conditions are exacted. So with the Liquor Excise law. That law does not compel anybody to sell liquor, but it requires certain conditions of all who sell it. So with the city laws about gunpowder.

New York city does not say to any man that he shall live within her limits, but she does say to every man who chooses to reside therein that he must pay taxes, duties, Excise. Why? Without such taxes, duties, Excise licenses, she could not furnish streets, sidewalks, fire-engines, water, &c. No man or class of men can practice the "free trade" principle in the sense used by the anti-Excise men in any civilized community.

We are told that the license fee demanded is too exorbitant, too heavy. If the business covered by the license will not pay, common sense dictates that it be let alone. The Excise law compels no man to engage in the liquor trade. It is purely a personal matter. If you can't afford to pay the license fee, don't get the license.

But it does pay the dealer, even at the price demanded for a license, or the receipts for licenses would not amount to from \$1,000 to \$2,000 per day, as they now do. Is it asked where this enormous sum goes to? It now goes into the sinking fund of the city, to pay its debts and thereby reduce the taxes, duties, and Excise license that are paid by the cartmen, hackmen, venders, and market gardeners, &c., &c.

Heretofore this enormous sum has all gone into the pockets of the liquor-dealers, and that is the reason they now growl so loudly. If the city owed no money on which it paid interest, our taxes would not be so large. If taxes were less, rents would be lower, and the poor, hard-working men of the city would not have to work more than half their time to pay their rent, as they now do. The money received from the Excise law will in time pay the entire city debt, instead of going into the pockets of the dealers. Then our taxes and rents will be lower. Poor men

and poor men's families are benefited by the Excise law. Let them uphold it.

We are told by the anti-Excise men that the law is summary and arbitrary in its nature. It ought to be, if it is to do any good; but it is not a particle more so than any other law. All effectual laws are summary, arbitrary. See if they are not. Take the law providing for the maintenance of the public peace. A street brawl occurs. Is it necessary for a policeman to get a warrant before he can arrest the offenders? Not at all. The law clothes him with power to arrest on the spot, without writ, process, or warrant. Not only is the officer empowered thus to act, but he is required by the law so to do. Why? Because the offenders would escape while the officer was after a warrant.

Not only is the officer allowed and required to make arrests for breaches of the peace, but so also is every private citizen who witnesses the brawl; especially is this the case in affairs of personal violence, assaults, attempts to kill. The reason is obvious. If A. sees B. firing a building, he can arrest him without the aid of the magistrate's warrant. If C. saw D. cruelly beating a child, even D.'s own child, he could arrest him without a warrant. On the summary and arbitrary character of laws designed for public safety and order depends their efficiency. The Excise Liquor law is no more arbitrary or summary than are other laws of restraint.

Excise laws like this one have been on our statute books for generations. They are no new thing. The only thing at all new about this law is, THAT IT IS ENFORCED. A portion of our adopted citizens say that this law interferes with such habits of recreation as they have been accustomed to in their former homes. Possible. Suppose it does? Do not other laws of ours give them other rights and privileges which they did not enjoy at home? Is not the balance of privileges enjoyed by them at home and here greatly in favor of America? We can't have all we desire. Reason dictates that we should reside where we may have the greatest freedom to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, and experience teaches our naturalized citizens that America affords them a greater freedom in life's pursuits than they ever exercised in Europe. Even New York city, with its Excise License law, gives them more liberty, and opens to them more paths of honor than any city of the old world. They ought not to counsel violent opposition to a constitutional law. Suppose they are forbidden the pleasure of a Sunday beer garden, do they not get the ballot and eligibility to office in return? Suppose restraint is placed on certain pursuits during specified hours, are not all other hours and pursuits free to all? In short, are not our naturalized citizens (in common with nature) blessed with many more privileges here than elsewhere? If

they are, ought they not cheerfully to comply with all laws properly made, and which have been pronounced constitutional? They do themselves a wrong by any other course. Opposition to the laws of the land they have voluntarily come to will cause people to think that they are not law-maintaining citizens, and instead of being received in the future with open arms, as now, they will be met with a cold welcome, and perhaps embarrassing restrictions. The great outcry against the Sunday features of the Liquor Excise law by our German citizens will, if persisted in, cause the American population to believe that the opposition to that feature of the law arises from a desire to break down all Sunday or Sabbath laws.

The American people will never consent to that. If there is any one institution which all Americans believe in and will uphold, it is the institution of the Sabbath; and while Christianity lives in the land, that institution will also live, and have thrown around it the sanction of the civil law. Our German fellow-citizens do themselves a very grave wrong in giving any grounds for the belief that they are opposed to Sunday and to Sabbath laws. Let them cease all these outcries, stop all attempts at evading the Excise law. If they want to sell beer and other drinks, let them comply with the conditions demanded by law. The American people will not allow any portion of themselves to be wrongfully deprived of any proper privilege or right.

But it is said that the city of New York is subjected to more stringent liquor laws than the rest of the State, and therefore this law is unjust.

The provisions of this law would have been extended over the State but for the opposition thereto from the leading men now opposing its enforcement in this city, whose object was to use this exceptional feature of the law as an argument against it, hoping thereby to prevent the passage of an Excise law for any part of the State. The inequality of the law, if there be any, is due to its enemies, and not to its friends. Let it be borne in mind, too, by the anti-Excise men, that when our State laws prohibited liquor selling, the same class of persons, and, in many instances, the same persons that are now opposing the present Excise law, said to the temperance people and to the Legislature: "Do, we beseech you, repeal the Prohibitory law, and allow us to sell liquors, even under an Excise license; we don't care how stringent the conditions may be, or how high the price of the license, only let us pursue our trade in some manner." This request has been complied with. A License law has been passed, and its enforcement meets just as much opposition as did the old Prohibitory law; and, if it continues in its present violent shape, there will be no other course for the friends of law and order to adopt but to call on the Legislature to re-enact the Prohibition law, and put an absolute

stoppage to the entire liquor traffic. Indiscriminate, unregulated, unrestricted trade in liquors, on all days and at all hours, to all classes of persons, will never be permitted by the people of this State; and all attempts to accomplish this result, or to break down the legal recognition of a Sabbath, will end in failure.

Let us all, then, native and naturalized, do all we can to uphold law, to preserve order, to promote the public peace, to sustain the authorities, to put down the spirit of riot, and when the time comes let those who would change any law adopt the only Constitutional method of proceeding with changes; but do not counsel violent opposition to any law, or sneakingly seek to evade its conditions; do not cast odium on the authorities for doing their sworn duties. In our country, laws must take the place of individual opinions and personal authority.

While a law remains unaltered or unrepealed, it must be obeyed by all. Then, and then only, can we, in the time to come, set that bright example to the nations of the world which our past gives them reason to expect, and none are more interested in America's good name than are our naturalized citizens of all nationalities.

BY ORDER OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF

"THE FRIENDS OF A QUIET SUNDAY."

Tribune, July, 1867.

SENATORIAL.

A REMINISCENCE OF THE REBELLION.

In the summer of 1861, when the Loyal People of our country were struggling against organized Treason, when they were disheartened by the defeat of Bull Run, when gloom covered the land, and despondency stalked abroad at noonday, while sorrow sat brooding by night over every northern hearth-stone, at this time of the nation's tribulation an agent of the Government arrested a rebel emissary, on whose person a letter was found of which the following is a copy:

"WASHINGTON, March 1st, 1861.

"*My Dear Sir:* Allow me to introduce to your acquaintance my friend Thomas B. Lincoln, of Texas. He visits your *capital* mainly to

dispose of what he regards a *great improvement in Fire-arms*. I recommend him to your favorable consideration, as a gentleman of the first respectability, and reliable in every respect.

“Very truly yours,

“JESSE D. BRIGHT.”

“*To His Excellency, JEFFERSON DAVIS.*”

At the session of Congress that took place in the following December, this matter came up in the Senate (see, *Congressional Globe*, Dec. 16, 1861), on the following preamble and resolution, introduced by Senator Wilkinson, namely :

“*Whereas*, Hon. JESSE D. BRIGHT, heretofore, on the first day of March, 1861, wrote a letter, of which the following is a copy. (Here follows the above letter signed by Mr. B.)

“*And whereas*, We believe the said letter is evidence of disloyalty to the United States, and is calculated to give aid and comfort to the public enemies ; therefore,

“Be it *Resolved*, That the said JESSE D. BRIGHT is expelled from his seat in the Senate of the United States.”

This resolution was discussed at different times until the fifth day of February, 1862. On that day a vote was taken, which resulted in Mr. BRIGHT's *expulsion*, by 32 yeas to 14 nays. The following are the names of the Senators who voted that Mr. Bright was worthy to remain in the Senate, and AGAINST his expulsion, namely, Senators Bayard, Carlisle, Cowan, HARRIS, Kennedy, Latham, Meredith, Pearce, Powell, Rice, Saulsbury, Ten Eyck, Thomson, Willey.

During the discussion on Mr. Wilkinson's resolution, a letter was read, written by Mr. Bright, under date of September 7th, 1861, to a friend at home, in which he uses the following language, namely :

“I have opposed, and so long as my present convictions last shall continue to oppose, the entire coercive policy of the Government.

JESSE D. BRIGHT.”

So, a Senator from the Loyal State of New York voted to retain a man in the United States Senate, who, over his own signature, styles Jeff. Davis, the Rebel Chief, “*His Excellency*,” and who, only three days before the first inauguration of the *Murdered Lincoln*, tells that rebel chief that a person he introduces to him is a reliable gentleman who desires to show “His Excellency” AN IMPROVED FIRE-ARM ! *an improved Fire-arm* to be used against the constituents of this New York Senator ! *an improved Fire-arm* to be turned against the life of the Nation, against the government which this New York Senator had taken a solemn oath

to protect and defend! *an improved Fire-arm* that was to carry death to the homes of this New York Senator's constituents, and drape their hearth-stones with the grief that never dies! *an improved Fire-arm* that should cripple the sons of the Empire State, that should send them to untimely graves, that should make armless sleeves and scarred faces meet us at every turn while it pleases God to let us live! empty sleeves and skeleton figures from southern prison houses, that to-day send forth their mute but *eloquent protests* against that New York Senator's vote!

This New York Senator voted to sustain a man who was "opposed to the entire coercive policy of the Government in putting down the Rebellion!"

What more could he have done to give "aid and comfort" to the nation's foes? In sustaining a Senator who opposed the Government, did not this New York Senator virtually and in effect also oppose the "entire coercive policy of the Government"?

Legislators of the Empire State, you who are to elect a successor of this Senator, see to it that you make no mistake in this matter. The People will not hold him blameless who, in these stormy times, votes to place any man in that high position *who ever, on any occasion, either directly or by implication, FAILED at any time, and on all occasions, in season and out of season, under any circumstances, in any way, shape, or manner, to vote, speak, write, or do anything and everything to stand by, uphold, protect, and defend this Government during the bloody years of the Great Rebellion.*

This New York Senator, now a candidate for re-election, DID SO FAIL IN DUTY.

[Sent to every member of the Legislature during the canvass between Conkling and Harris.]

EMPTY SLEEVES.

[Tribune, September 2, 1863.]

IN our streets, in our offices, on our farms, everywhere we meet "empty sleeves;" sleeves that the wind blows against broken ribs, whips about crippled bodies; sleeves whose emptiness tell of arms blown off in battle; of arms lost in strife for the life of a nation; of arms shattered with flag in hand. Empty sleeves that speak more eloquently, than tongue or type, of patriotism, of courage, of faith in the right, of hope in Justice. Empty sleeves that tell of honor upheld, of a nation saved, of homes defended, of valor, of daring. Empty sleeves that tell how desperately Rebellion fought against the life of a people; empty sleeves that tell how well the defenders of that people did their glorious work; empty sleeves that ever proclaim how lives were risked, and limbs sacrificed, in putting down those who fired on the nation's flag, and trailed it in the dust; empty sleeves that constantly rebuke those who did their utmost to make Slavery national, and Freedom sectional; empty sleeves that tell of southern prisons; of the "dead lines" around human cattle pens; tell of abuse, of needless suffering, of starvation; empty sleeves, whose wearers are living reminders of Libby, of Andersonville, and those other hells in which Union soldiers who fought for the old flag of Liberty against the Rebel flag of Slavery, were tortured, and bruised, and starved, and murdered, and denied decent burial when dead; empty sleeves that tell of the tenacity of human Slavery, and the determination of a southern minority to lord it over and rule a northern majority. Are the honorable and honored men, whose armless sleeves meet us at every turn, going for the party that fired on old Sumter? Are these men going to tell the world that the side on which they fought was wrong? Are these men about to tell the world that the old flag ought to have been trailed in the dust at Sumter? Are they going to say that Grant ought to have surrendered to Lee—that the Rebel flag ought now to wave from the dome of the nation's Capitol? If these brave men desire to speak thus, and to see the Rebel flag on every flagstaff in the land, they will vote for Seymour; but if they believe that they fought on the right side—believe that Grant was right in causing Lee's surrender—believe that the old flag of our fathers is the flag of the nation—then they will vote for Grant. "God defend the right."

MEN OF THE EMPIRE STATE.

THE enemies of the Union are in the field. They are armed, drilled, and ready for the fight.

Borne aloft, at the head of their columns, are the black flags of REPUDIATION and REBELLION.

Their bugles sound the old rebel blast—VIOLATION OF LAW, NULLIFICATION.

True to their old instincts, faithful to their old practices, they ignore all human rights, spurn with utter contempt every aspiration for Liberty, every hope of the poor.

Their hope of victory at the coming battle, makes them imperiously arrogant, and overbearing beyond endurance.

At the South, they are driving Union men from places of honor and trust, and compelling northern business men to flee for their lives.

There, Ku Klux Klans outrage humanity by their deeds of violence and murder.

At the north, their friends burn Republican wigwams, cut down Republican banners, break up Republican meetings, stone Republican processions, and assault Republican voters.

If they win in the coming fight, the southern wing will control the North, and house-burnings and assassinations will do their work, like the pestilence that kills. Then the rallying cry will be, "*Down with the Black Republicans,*" "*Death to the Niggers,*" "*Hurrah for Jeff. Davis,*" "*Lee shall be General in place of Grant.*"

If they win, the nation must again go through the scenes of '61, '62, '63, and '64, when the Flag was trampled on, business debts repudiated, public property stolen, Union men shot on picket duty, Union soldiers starved in Rebel prisons, Union wounded neglected in Rebel hospitals, Union dead—dead from starvation and neglect—refused burial by Rebel officials, lighthouses burned, merchant vessels robbed, emigrants plundered on shipboard, riots in northern cities, black men hanged on lamp-posts and roasted while still breathing, orphan asylums fired, and all the worst passions of bad men let loose to prey on those who hold different political opinions.

They once tried the Bullet, and but for wicked advice, they would have submitted to the result of that arbitrament.

Now, encouraged by false teachings, they are trying to gain by the Ballot all they lost by the Bullet; coolly and with desperate determination telling us that if they lose by the Ballot, they will again try the Bullet.

Once they had their murderous hands on the throat of the nation.

Dreadful and bloody were their attempts to destroy it.

Four long, weary years dragged their bleeding bodies through pain and woe, followed day after day by mournful processions of widowed mothers, fatherless children, wounded men; each hour seeing hungry graves filled by the best and bravest of America's young sons; all, all caused by these enemies of yours, now once more in battle array against you, men of New York.

Shall they win?

Will you be whipped like dogs that fear a master's lash?

Will you give Hampton, Forrest, Lee, Vallandigham, Cobb, Toombs, Seymour, Blair, and Hoffman, the control of this nation?

Do you want Jeff. Davis in the Cabinet?

Will you have Lee your General in place of Grant?

Will you elevate the Law-Breaker, and degrade the Law-Respecter?

The motto of our grand old State is, EXCELSIOR.

No true man will by word or vote do aught to tarnish that escutcheon, to take one ray of light from its glittering brightness, to give one grain of aid or comfort to the enemies of the Union, to the foes of liberty, to those who in the past tried to destroy all that makes this, the youngest of the nations, the pride and marvel of the century.

Voters! The Ballot means something.

The right to wield it demands duties.

Privilege is allied to responsibility.

The State and the Nation trust their destinies to those who vote.

See to it, men of New York, that your votes are on the right side.

See to it, that the future has reason to be proud of your action in the present.

See that the indifferent, the doubtful ones are enlightened on the issues of the hour; labor with all your well-meaning neighbors whose friendships or former political associations incline them to the ranks of our opponents; reason with them; show them the dangers of the path they are tempted to follow; urge them by every plea for peace, prosperity, honor, justice and love of country, to vote for GRANT, COLFAX, and GRISWOLD, as the only sure way to escape the horrors of another rebellion, the sacrifice of more lives, and the accumulation of more debt.

On Election day, bring the old, the infirm, to the voting places.

Do this in a manner worthy of the men of the Empire State, and you will, after the smoke of the battle shall have cleared away, and peace, security, and the rights of person and property have their universal recognition over every foot of land that the old Flag flutters over, turn with pride to the present hour, and tell your children that you helped to establish these blessings for them and their successors.

Then, from hill-side and valley, from farm and work-shop, shall go up, with new glory, echoed by the voices of honest freemen, our State's ennobling motto—"EXCELSIOR."

WHO WILL YOU VOTE FOR, FOR GOVERNOR?

JOHN T. HOFFMAN is a Candidate for Governor of this State. Will you vote for him? Listen a moment.

The city of New York is governed by a "Ring" which has run up city taxation alone, and independent of State and national expenses, from about twelve millions of dollars, ten years ago, to nearly twenty-five millions in 1868, and this over and above from three to four millions of revenue derived from city property, making our expenditures as a city, and our burthens the largest of any city on the face of the globe. And these expenses are largely made up from the "Stealings" of this "Ring" which, to perpetuate and enlarge its power has nominated John T. Hoffman, and hopes, by his election, to extend its operations and its robberies over the entire State.

These increased "stealings" have already swelled taxation to such a degree that the owners of dwelling-houses have been compelled to raise their rents until a poor man cannot get a decent place to put his family in, but is obliged to crowd into cellars, garrets, stables, and other uncomfortable places, in order that "Hoffman's Ring" may grow rich and live in brown stone mansions.

If you are content with uncomfortable tenements, are pleased with shanties, if you are satisfied with cellars and garrets for your families, then vote for HOFFMAN; but if you desire comfortable places for them, then vote for GRISWOLD.

A vote for HOFFMAN extends and perpetuates the power of the Ring, and increases taxes and raises rents.

A vote for GRISWOLD breaks "Hoffman's Ring," and destroys its influence for ever.

SAVINGS BANKS AND POOR PEOPLE.

WHAT IS A SAVINGS BANK?

DR. WEBSTER, in his great Dictionary, says a Savings Bank is:—

“A Bank in which the Savings or Earnings of the Poor are deposited, and put to interest for their benefit.”

So, SAVINGS BANKS are for POOR PEOPLE who desire to save their little earnings against a “rainy day;” places of safety, where a few dollars may be put at interest, to buy a little home with, or to live on when work is dull, or when sickness comes, or if death should remove the head of the family, or perhaps to give some dear little dead one a decent burial.

Rich people do not need or use Savings Banks.

Poor people both need and use them.

Who are the owners of Savings Banks?

Every person, man, woman and child, who puts money in a Savings Bank, is an owner of all the Bank owns, to the amount such person puts in such Bank; and it matters not whether the property of the Bank is in buildings, mortgages, or bonds, or cash,—all, every item, belongs to those who have put money therein.

How are the Banks supported? How are the officers, clerks, rents, &c., &c., paid?

These expenses are paid by *the differences in the rate and amount of interest* PAID TO THE DEPOSITORS BY THE BANK, and *the interest* PAID BY THOSE WHO BORROW MONEY FROM THE BANK, and the profits as well as the deposits all belong to the poor men and women whose money is in the Bank, and to no other persons whatever. As long as a person has any money in a Savings Bank, he or she is a part-owner of all that Bank owns.

In what does the safety of Savings Banks consist?

First.—In the kind of security they get for the money they loan, such as bonds and mortgages on houses and lands; and,

Second.—On the value of interest-paying bonds of Counties, States, and the United States—at this time the latter, that is, the United States bonds, are the best, and the Savings Banks hold more of them than of any other kind of public bonds.

Is the value of public bonds usually affected by an election of President of the United States? Usually not; because, heretofore, no

National Political Party ever did, on the eve of a Presidential election, hint at repudiating the National debt, or threaten forcibly to violate and break the Laws passed by Congress.

Has any Political Party recently thrown out such a hint, or made such a threat?

To our shame, as a People, we must say yes. The party that nominated Horatio Seymour for President, Frank P. Blair for Vice-President, and John T. Hoffman for Governor of the State of New York, has said these wicked words; has publicly proclaimed a form of repudiation; has publicly announced its determination, in case these men are elected, forcibly to set aside the Laws passed by Congress, and thus begin another war! What effect did these doctrines have on the value of the United States Bonds held by Savings Banks?

Within a few days after these nominations were made (Seymour and Blair), these bonds sunk in the market greatly below what they had been before in several months, and the value of gold increased in the same proportion.

If the mere threat as to what these men would do, if elected, caused gold to go up, and United States bonds to go down, what effect would their election have on the value of gold, and bonds, and other securities?

In case these men should attempt to carry out their threats of repudiation and law-breaking, as they would if elected, all kinds of securities, including United States Bonds, would sink so low in value as to be worth but very little, and Gold would go up so high as to be almost beyond purchase. The immediate result of this would be to ruin every Savings Bank in the land, and every poor man, who had money with them on interest and safe keeping, would suffer just in proportion as the Bonds would sink in value. Thus, suppose that on the first day of September, 1868, United States Bonds were worth 10 per cent. premium, that is, a Bond for one thousand dollars was then worth and would sell for eleven hundred dollars; now this extra hundred dollars, as well as the original thousand dollar bond, is the property of the Savings Bank depositors, and every poor man whose little deposit has been invested in this bond is an owner of that bond and premium, to the amount of his deposit.

Now, if Seymour and Blair (and Hoffman), should be elected, and attempt, as they threaten, to forcibly set aside the Laws of Congress (which is nothing but war), or hint at refusing to pay the National Debt, this thousand dollar bond, instead of being worth eleven hundred dollars, would not sell for more than four hundred, and the Savings Bank would be just seven hundred dollars poorer than it would be if these men were

not elected; and every poor man whose money had been taken to buy this bond for the Bank, would lose just in that proportion. Thus, if ten poor men had each put one hundred dollars in the Bank, and the thousand dollars which these ten had deposited therein had been invested in this thousand dollar bond, then each one of these ten men would, if the bond were sold at ten per cent. premium, be entitled to one hundred and ten dollars; but, instead of getting that amount, they would, in consequence of the depreciation following Seymour and Blair's (and Hoffman's) election, only get forty dollars a head, an absolute loss of seventy dollars to each one of these ten poor men.

What reason is there for saying that the election of these men would depreciate the value of United States Bonds, and thereby ruin the Savings Banks?

This is a very proper question, and this is the answer:

First. The election of Seymour, Blair and Hoffman, would be taken by their supporters as evidence that the people, in voting for them, sanction their principles, viz., the forcible breaking of laws enacted by Congress; a condemnation of the War for the Union (to raise money for which the bonds were issued); a justification of the war begun by the South; a repudiation of the United States debts, and the assumption of the debts contracted by the Confederate (rebel) States government, amounting to thousands of millions of dollars—in fact, no person can tell how many millions those debts and bonds amount to.

Now, in attempting, as they threaten, to overturn certain State Governments by force of arms, in violation of Laws passed by Congress, they would necessarily commit breaches of the peace; this would require the intervention of troops to protect persons and property; the using of troops requires money; to raise this money, more Bonds would be issued; putting more Bonds into the money market would reduce the value of those now held by the Savings Banks; this hurts the poor people whose money is invested in them.

Again, an attempt to repudiate the present debts of the United States, would so frighten the holders of United States bonds that they would try to get rid of them as quickly as possible, and the throwing so many of them on the market at one time would run down their value so low as to make them worth but very little, and, of course, that would ruin the Savings Banks, and injure the poor people who had money in them.

Again, an attempt to assume the Rebel Debts and Bonds, as would be done if these men are elected (no one knows how many millions), would have the effect to reduce the value of the present United States Bonds down to so low a figure as to make them worth no more than waste paper; in fact, they would have no value at all, for the debts of

the Nation would then be so great as to be beyond payment, and the Bonds worthless, and, of course, this would break the Savings Banks, and ruin the poor depositors who had put their money in them.

So well are these truths established in the minds of far-seeing men, that thousands who hold small amounts of United States Bonds have determined to sell them the very next day after it may be known that these men are elected, believing that the sooner they get rid of them, after Seymour and Blair's election, the better.

There is only one way to prevent the depreciation of the United States Bonds, and thus keep the Savings Banks safe and useful for poor people to put their money, and that is, to prevent the election of these men.

There is no other way to save the Savings Banks and protect the poor.

We have said that Savings Banks are for the Poor. Let us see if this is true.

On the first day of July, 1868, the Savings Banks of New York and Brooklyn had on deposit and at interest, about Forty-seven Millions of Dollars' worth of United States Bonds. The number of persons who had money deposited in these Banks was about four hundred and four thousand five hundred and ninety.

Now, if these persons had each deposited an equal amount of money in these Banks, for the purchase of these bonds, each one would own Two Hundred and Ninety Dollars' worth, and no more, less than three hundred dollars each. Are these the "bloated bondholders" that so much is said about? Is a man, with less than three hundred dollars, to be called "rich," a "grinding capitalist," "purse-proud," a "wealthy aristocrat?"

What sort of persons are they who own this forty-seven millions of dollars' worth of United States Bonds, held by the Savings Banks of New York and Brooklyn? Are they capitalists or speculators?

On inquiring at one of the City Savings Banks, we learned that out of one hundred depositors, forty-nine were mechanics, fifteen were day laborers, and the rest Clerks, small Shopkeepers, Domestic Servants, Seamen, &c., &c., not a Speculator or Capitalist in the whole lot; and this is true of the depositors in all the Savings Banks all over the Union, city and country. The Vanderbilts, Stewarts, Astors, don't need or use Savings Banks, not they; their money goes into houses, lots, steamers, railways, &c.

Stand by the Savings Banks! Put down any man or party that threatens to do anything to hurt the value of the Bonds held by them.

Keep the Savings Banks safe for Poor People to put their money in.

A Vote for Seymour is a Vote against the Banks.

WHAT HAS BEEN SETTLED BY THE ELECTION OF GENERAL GRANT.

[Tribune, February 18, 1869.]

To the Editor of the Tribune:

SIR—I hold that General Grant's election has decided:

1. That this Union of States is a perpetuity;
2. That the United States are a Nation;
3. That the people of these States are *one* people;
4. That the will of the people is the supreme law of the land;
5. That the laws of the land are for "*all* the people thereof," regardless of condition or color;
6. That the flag of the Nation protects all it floats over;
7. That "State Rights" will not, in the future, as in the past, mean State Supremacy; hence, there can be no secession of a State, or State nullification of a National law;
8. That when the people within certain geographical limits enter this Union as a State, they and their State are to remain herein;
9. That a State, as such, cannot secede; therefore, the only way for a citizen, or all the citizens of a State, to get out of this Union, is to emigrate;
10. That if, as was claimed by the apologists of the Great Rebellion, a State "cannot" be "coerced," individuals can, whether holding State offices or not;
11. That this Nation in its entirety is greater than any of its parts; hence, a law or institution of a State must be subordinate to the laws and institutions of the Nation;
12. That National honor is as dear as National life; hence, debts contracted by and for the Nation, are to be paid.

THE MARKET QUESTION.

To the Editor of The Tribune :

SIR—There is a bill now before our Legislature prohibiting all persons not residents of the State from holding or occupying stands and stalls in our public markets. Of what use such a law would be it is difficult to see. True policy dictates giving every proper encouragement to trade, by leaving every lawful pursuit open to all who choose to engage therein. This bill proposes to restrict trade by limiting the number of persons who may choose to conduct a particular branch, and that branch one of the first necessity to the whole public. It may be said that the proposed law will not apply to producers at all—that it will only affect the middle-men who occupy market stalls. But suppose the producer acts as his own salesman in our markets? Then this law will shut him out, and force him to sell his produce to a dealer who is not a producer, and that works no gain to the city consumer, but the contrary.

Again, suppose all non-resident occupants of market stalls are, in order to run a business which may have cost a large capital and years of labor to build up, compelled to live in this State (which means city), would not such an increase of persons requiring dwellings make a greater demand than now exists for residences within a certain distance of the markets, and would not that extra demand cause an increase in rents in such localities? No other result could follow. An increase in the rents paid by market dealers for their dwellings would carry with it a necessity on their part for higher prices for their articles, and this increase must come out of the pockets of all consumers in the city, including those persons in such portions of the city where rents may have been increased by the increased demand for houses for market men, who have heretofore been non-residents. Who would be benefited by such changes?

Again, if the city authorities compel occupants of market stalls and stands to be residents, why not prohibit non-residents from bringing produce here by boat and wagon? There is just as much sense in saying that a non-resident shall not land his produce at a public wharf, as there is in saying he shall not sell it in a public market; for wharves are, in a certain sense, markets—they certainly are under the control of the city as much as the markets are. All are the property of the city. Would

it benefit consumers to have all those who bring produce here in boats, and who sell it at the wharves, compelled to live in the city? Would such a course cheapen produce or decrease rents? Every person knows that it would produce just the opposite; it would enhance the price of produce and increase rents.

Why not prohibit non-resident producers who bring produce to the city in wagons from selling it in the streets near the markets? The streets are under the control of the authorities. If non-residents ought not to sell produce in a market owned and controlled by the city, why should they be allowed to do so in the streets which are also controlled by the city? Suppose the street dealers who sell from wagons are compelled to live in the State (city), would the consumer be benefited by that change? Would such change tend to decrease rents? Would it not certainly increase the price of every kind of produce consumed in the city, and greatly enhance the rents of houses? It could have no other effect.

The principle is the same in regard to the occupants of market stands and stalls. Compelling them to live in the State (city) only tends to increase the cost of living to those already here, and whose situation compels them to remain. It is a piece of great injustice to thousands who now have all they can do to keep the wolf from the door.

This kind of legislation is wrong. Had it always been adopted by our State, New York would not be what she is to-day. Our prosperity has come from our liberal laws of trade, and the freedom with which all persons are allowed to conduct business within our limits, subject, of course, to equal laws in the matter of taxes, &c.

We might as well prohibit non-residents from doing any sort of business here, as to pass the proposed bill. Suppose we should say that the thousands of New York business men (many of them natives of the State), who now reside in New Jersey and Connecticut, must either give up their business here, or reside in the State. What would be the effect? Simply to drive business, capital and skill from us, or enhance house rent to figures unheard of; and that, in time, would drive business to other cities whose rents are lower. Would that be wise? All such discriminating legislation, all special laws of this character are conceived in error, often originate in private interests, and never promote the public good.

Our city's prosperity will be best promoted by offering the greatest business facilities to all who choose to come and enjoy them, regardless of residence.

New York, March 15, 1869.

JOHN SWINTON'S CHINESE-AMERICAN QUESTION REVIEWED.

To the Editor of the Tribune:

SIR—A reader of Mr. Swinton's paper in *The Tribune* of June 30, unacquainted with American institutions, and their capacity to withstand foes without and traitors within, might believe that our country is at this time standing on the verge of ruin. Despite his "alarm," Mr. Swinton stepped aside from his line of argument to thrust his lance at a firm engaged in its own private business, for offenses which as yet exist only in the possibilities of his excited imagination.

To old anti-Slavery men, Mr. Swinton's eloquence on races, and the superiority of the American eagle over all other birds, is a stale story. We had the same arguments, with all their variations, during the long years that Pro-Slavery Democracy fought for the degradation of the African; we read them in all the so-called Conservative papers; heard them from the same kind of pulpits; encountered them in the blatant, narrow-minded, short-sighted onslaught of Know-Nothing Native Americanism. An old enemy of human progress, an old opponent of man's amelioration, is this doctrine of antagonistic race-interests. Under another name it is that spirit of caste which casts out the Eastern pariah to misery, and drives him from the sacred presence of a caste above him. Race-caste, though lauded highly, never yet has found permanent root in American soil, and, God willing, never will, so far as our laws are concerned, although it sometimes springs up as a social parasite. Our Declaration of Independence crushed it under foot; the result of the late rebellion of caste against equality taught the precept of the Declaration anew.

In cases of great "alarm," fears get the best of logic. According to this alarmist, the inferior races, by admixture with the superior and stronger, will debase and utterly destroy the latter! Which, of all the "anthropologists and ethnologists" has in his own person, or otherwise, proved the truth of this logic, we are not told. Like those of the Pro-Slavery Democracy, this defense of caste could not be finished without a tilt at Massachusetts and the virtue of her women. That noble State needs no defense from a writer who uses innuendoes as arguments.

Is the inferiority of the Chinese a fact established? How is a ques-

tion of national inferiority or superiority to be decided? If by dense population and great age, America has about one-fortieth of the earth's population, and is not, as a nation, a century old, while China contains nearly one-third of the earth's people, and counts at least half as many centuries as America counts years. If by learning and experience, China has both, and America lacks them. A people as bad as this caste-defender asserts the Chinese to be, could neither have existed as a nation for thousands of years, nor would they have increased to their present number. America has grown to her present great size in a great degree by immigration. She will continue to grow in strength while her blood is vitalized by new elements. Chinese blood will do her no more harm than has English, Irish, German, French, Dutch, and other alien blood on which she has so marvelously thriven. Whatever there is of American greatness is all of alien blood, the only difference being one of time in regard to immigration. We are all either of alien blood or American Indians.

Similar evil croakings have been successively uttered by the different nationalities of which we are composed, against the influx of each other, and still our career is onward for the better. American institutions are not, and cannot be endangered by any influx. The Mongolian race may find, under them, the same elevating influences that other races have found and are now enjoying. Our gates shall never be closed to any who choose to come and adopt our civilization and obey our laws.

New York, July 4, 1870.

THE INTRODUCTION OF CHINESE LABOR.

MR. SWINTON ON "THE GROUND OF INDUSTRY."

To the Editor of the Tribune;

SIR—Mr. Swinton says that the intent of bringing in the Chinese is to secure cheap labor, and admits that we have opportunities "for an incalculable amount of labor," that "China can furnish an unlimited supply of laborers," and that, too, of the most available and effective sort. Now, if these propositions be correct, as we cannot export the work to the workers, but can bring the workers themselves to the work, and as we need to have that work done for the general good, why not benefit ourselves by doing the only sensible thing under the circumstances, *i. e.*, import the workmen, and reap the advantages of their labor?

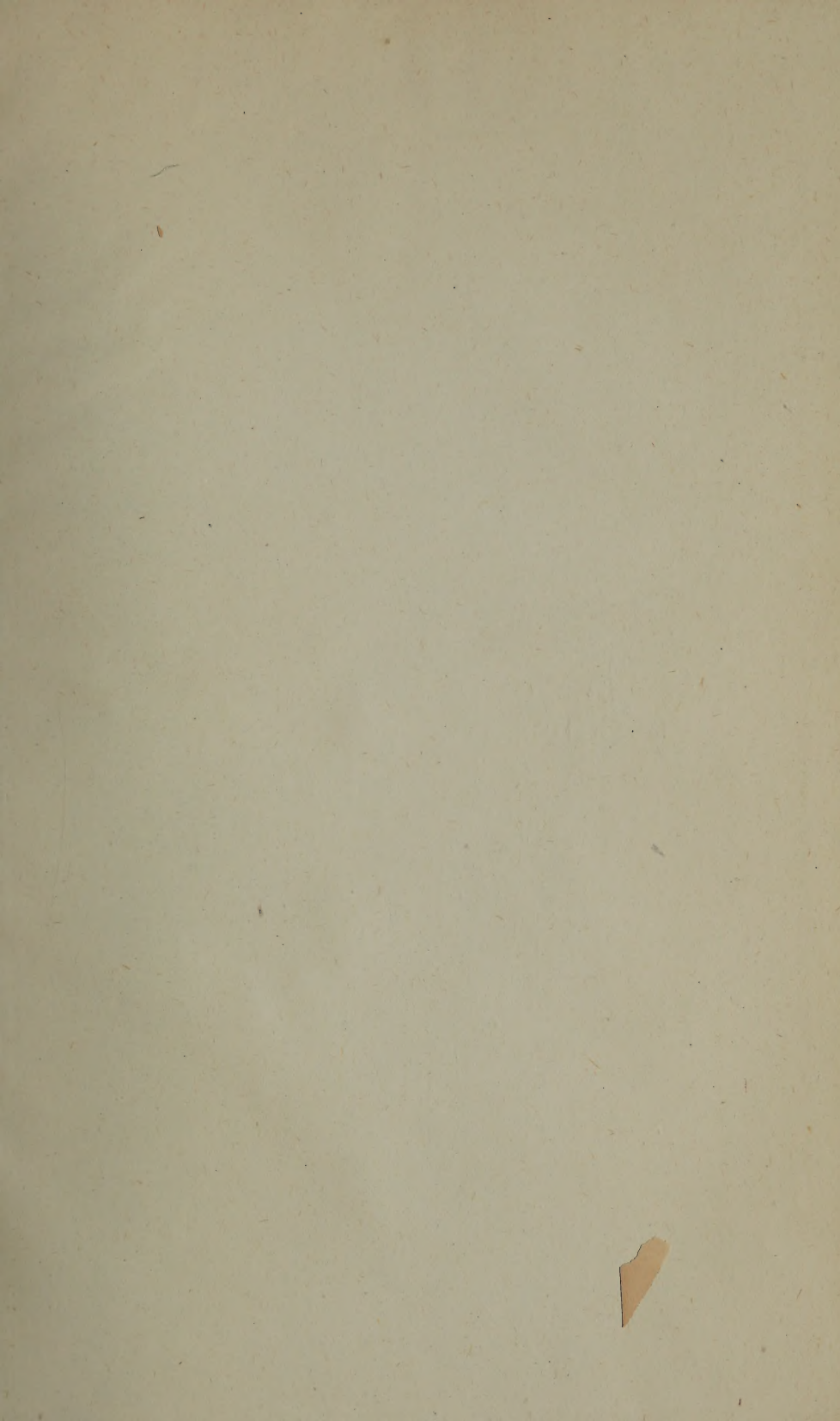
National wealth consists, among other things, first, in an abundance of "raw material," or the capacity to produce it, and second, in perfected articles of public use, which nothing but labor can produce. Hence any combination of labor with the raw material must be of value. I suppose Mr. Swinton would couple such worth with certain conditions of existence. That we have more labor to be performed than we have laborers to perform it, implies an unsatisfied demand for consumable articles. From this demand comes high prices, and those high prices must be paid by the consumer, until, by the introduction of more laborers or machinery, prices are equalized. Here arises another very grave question; whether this work may best be done by human laborers, that must necessarily consume a large percentage of produced articles, or by non-consuming machinery, as by one of the two it must be done. Mr. Swinton having failed to show that the condition of the American laborer is now as good as it may be, I am justified in assuming that it is not; and on this assumption to predict that the introduction of more "effective labor" would improve his condition by adding to the supply of articles he must consume; for it is a well-settled principle that the ability to consume, in reckoning national wealth, is coequal with the ability to produce; in fact, the two must go hand in hand. Lack of consumption implies lack of production; therefore, if we add to the production of the country by adding to its effective labor, we increase its capacity for consumption, and thereby improve the condition of the worker. Take the case of the North Adams shoemakers. Suppose the manufacturer paid

American laborers three times as much as he pays the Chinese? What then? Simply, that he must get the difference in cost of manufacture from the people who buy his shoes.

Now if, by adding to the effective labor of North Adams an additional amount of such labor, the price of shoes is materially reduced, does not that reduction conduce to the public benefit by cheapening shoes and improving the condition of the shoe-wearer? What is true of the North Adams shoe-manufacturer is and must be true of all other manufacturers. It is no argument to say that this manufacturer will not reduce the price of his wares in consequence of reduced labor expenses, for the imperative law of supply and demand will constrain him. Other shoe-manufacturers can also add to their effective labor, and the necessity of selling shoes will compel a reduction of prices.

Talk about "bunks" is surplussage, and carries no force. Every working seaman is, in this sense, a "bunker," and no one ever thought him degraded thereby. All these matters of dress, diet, and lodging regulate themselves. But the objection to the coming of the Chinese is the fear lest we may have too much effective labor. Are such fears well founded? An ocean steamer can carry, say 1,000 emigrants; a sailing vessel 500. If there are as many steamers as sailing vessels, the average number of passengers might be 750—a very liberal estimate. Now, how many vessels would it require, and how long a time would it take, to bring over enough "effective labor" to reduce its price so low as to produce the dreadful effects predicted? These Chinese do not average more than five years' stay in America. They do not become permanent citizens; do not increase; and their very bones are returned to their birth-place. There are not a sufficient number of vessels now afloat to bring enough emigrants from China to produce the evil predicted. But unless more "effective labor" be added to what we now have, the combination of trades and societies, by means of strikes and other agencies, may so enhance the price of labor, that either few persons will be able to buy any but the cheapest articles, or many branches of trade will be driven to seek other and cheaper supplies of labor. As a case in point, ship repairing has been driven from New York by the demands of the workmen, and those very workmen have been compelled to seek other employments to the detriment of those already engaged therein. Would more "effective labor" in the coal mines of Pennsylvania, at this time when the miners are combining to stop work, have an injurious effect on the interests of American laborers? The harvest is ready for the sickle. We need more laborers. Let them hasten across either ocean, and we will bid them welcome.

New York, July 11, 1870.



ing Sundays and
borrower's household, and
at this Hall.

Borrowers finding this
defaced, are expected to re-
lay in the delivery of books.

**No claim can be established
any notice, to or from the Librarian

